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Contributions To Nepalese Studies

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JOURNAL OF
THE INSTITUTE OF NEPAL AND ASIAN STUDIES
TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY
KIRTIPUR.

Contributions To Nepalese Studies

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Kitini Gaon Panchayat: a presentation¹

Bengt-Erik Borgström

Kitini Gaon Panchayat is located on the south-eastern fringe of the Kathmandu Valley about eight miles from the headquarters of Lalitpur District Panchayat in Patan. Kitini is connected with Kathmandu by a motorable road. The total land area in Kitini panchayat amounts to 6937 ropanis, 2 annas and 1 paisa according to the cadastral survey. Out of this 4418 ropanis, 10 annas and 1 paisa is cultivated land. This can be further sub-divided into khet and pakho, the former being 1796 ropanis, 11 annas and 2 paisa, the latter 2641 ropanis, 14 annas and 3 paisa.

Agriculture is of course the main occupation but some people gain their livelihood from other sources as well. Within the panchayat there are two lime-stone quarries owned by two local businessmen. There is also a marble factory where the same businessmen have minor interests, the bulk of the shares being owned by people living elsewhere. Some people furnish eggs vegetables and other products to the handful of shop owners in Kitini panchayat on a contract basis and to St. Xavier's Boarding School. The Boarding School also employs people from the panchayat as cooks, gardeners and so on. There are also some undertakings of HMG in Kitini panchayat such as a forest office, a botanical garden, a horticultural garden and a fish farm. Many people work outside the panchayat, most of them in the service of HMG and the bulk of these have their place of work in Kathmandu. There are also some who are privately employed.

The population of Kitini panchayat numbers about 420 families. As one family I count the unit that owns land in common i.e. where land is not divided between siblings, even if they happen to live in different houses. Out of these 420 odd families roughly 220 have one or more members who are literate, ranging from these with no formal schooling (common in the generation above 30 years) and up to a few people who have passed M.A. Literacy is mainly confined to men in the over 30 generation; but in the younger age-groups girls attend school especially in the lower grades. However there is still a great cultural barrier against girls receiving education. In many quarters it is looked upon as highly improper.

I have divided the families of Kitini panchayat into two broad economic categories: those which are purely agricultural (working the land as owners or tenants and/or working the land of others on a daily basis at peak seasons of the agricultural year. I have also included "self employed" people in this category: basket-weaving, carpentry for instance, as well as traditional

service relations between families of different castes), and those who do wage work or salary work outside the purely agricultural sector.

This division rests upon the assumption that the agricultural sector is more "traditional" and that the work done outside it is an indication of a transformation of rural life due to changes on all-Nepal level. It should immediately be stated, however, that Kitini panchayat being so close to Kathmandu there has probably never been a "pure" rural economy. People have joined the army; Brahmins have probably for a long time worked in the bureaucracy; and there have been shop owners who have been dependent on commercial relations with business men in town for stocking their shops. Still, the concept of a rural economy is useful when assessing the speed with which people are drawn into another type of economy, based in this case on industrialization and the swelling of Government and private institutions in the capital; in quantitative terms these changes are of fairly recent origin as far as the people in Kitini panchayat are concerned. If one did an analysis on the basis of economic class, one would have to shift the category of people working the land of others on a daily basis to those who work for wages and salaries in other spheres of the general economy. Likewise, under the category "self employed" one would have to include modern trades as well as those pertaining to the rural economy. Thus, economic class cuts across the dichotomy of a relatively self-contained rural economy, and a more integrated national economy.

Furthermore I would like to use the term "status group" to denote a hierarchy of groups, with regard to the social esteem in which they are held. The reasons for this esteem may be due to a variety of factors like wealth, education, political and administrative power and so on. One can be born into a status group or one can become a member of it by virtue of one's own achievement. A status group of the former kind is obviously a caste, which is ideally rural and based on different relations to land. Again, I want to stress "ideally", since empirically there has always been more than the rural component to it. In a more differentiated economy status groups are often based on achievement and in the case of Nepal high status group does often mean high caste as well. This is true of Kitini panchayat as well, as shall be seen in the following.

First of all one has to decide what should be meant by "caste". This is a question which has plagued anthropologists working in India and it is an issue which continues to be debated. Fortunately, with regard to Nepal, the demarcation of castes is in some respects easier. Here one does not find hierarchically ranked groups within, say, the Brahmins or the Chhettris. Instead they are divided into exogamous clans with the same ritual standing. Therefore, one can speak of Brahmins, Chhettris, Khatris and so

on without having to specify which particular group within the category one is referring to. However there are a few things which mar this general picture. In Kitini panchayat one difficulty is to determine the place of the Tamangs; a second is the existence of a separate caste system of the Newars and a third is the ambiguous place of the recently formed caste of the Magars.

The Tamangs are Buddhist and thus not a Hindu caste. Still, they are referred to as a "jati". Thus, it is impossible to postulate a single cultural system for Kitini panchayat. This latter is an administrative creation; and members of the constituent units, "jatis", come together for specific purposes: administrative, political, economic and so forth. These are the very reasons for the creation of the panchayat and it is only in these respects that it can be called a unit or, without overtones of perfection, a system. When I use the term "jati" or "caste" it refers to this functional level and not to the cultural level. The Newars are divided into castes within themselves, but other people speak of them simply as Newars. They are thus considered a community from the outside while from the inside they are hierarchically arranged. I shall use both approaches. The Magars are a caste which has recently come into existence in Kitini panchayat. They are former serfs of the landowning groups and were known as Ghartis, except for two families who have always been Magars. About 28 years ago the Ghartis were brought together by a Gharti army officer from Kitini who made them start calling themselves Magars and made them adopt Magar clan names. Most of the families who chose Thapa as their clan name also formed a guthi which was to help family members meet funeral costs when a member died. The majority of the members come from Kitini panchayat, but there are members from outside as well. Although the Ghartis in a sense became Magars, other people still look upon them as Ghartis and refer to them by that name. I shall, however, refer to them as Magars.

There are two big jatis in Kitini panchayat: the Tamangs, numbering just over 100 families and the Khattris with roughly the same number of families. The Khattris are made up almost exclusively of one clan, however, the Silwals numbering 97 families. Then come the Brahmans with just over 50 families, Sarkis with 33, Magars 34, Newars 17 (Shrestha 9, Jyapu 7 and Khusa 1), Chhettris 20, Mahantas 17, Kamars 16, Kami 9, Nagarkoti 6, Damais 6, Pahari 3 and Ghale 3.

Among the Khattris 27 families are economically rurals i.e. exist wholly on their own fields, self-employment and/or work on the fields of others. 29 Tamang families are wholly dependent on agriculture, while the figure for the Brahmans is 14, for the Magars 12, for the Chhettris 6, for the Newars 10 (Shrestha 3, Jyapu 6 and Khusa 1), for the Mahantas 4, for the Kamars 12, for the Paharis 0, for the Ghale 2, for the Nagarkotis 4. For the castes,

formerly known as Untouchables the figures are: for the Sarkis 28, for the Kamis 5 and for the Damais 5 (out of which one is doing only traditional caste work). There are a total of 4 Damai families doing caste work, there are 5 Kamis and only 4 Sarkis in this category. The Brahmanas who work in their traditional role as priests number 11 only 2 of them having no other source of income except what they get from their land.

As can be seen from these figures roughly 37% of the families in Kitini panchayat still derive their income from within the local agricultural sphere. It can also be seen that the Khatris, Brahmanas, Chhetris, Mahantas and Tamangs are the ones who have the lowest number in relation to number of families to the jati, that have moved out of the rural economy and are becoming enmeshed in a new type of economy, without therefore losing touch with agriculture. There is a common pattern where one or two members of the family work in industry or some institution while the other members stay behind on the farm. There is no moving away from the land in favour of new opportunities, mainly because these new opportunities are not sufficient to substitute satisfactorily for what one can get from the land. They are an addition, nothing more in most cases.

As these non-agricultural occupations some distinctions can be made. First, there are these which are local, where the place of work is within Kitini panchayat or close to it and those which are far away, mainly in Kathmandu. Second, there are those posts for which the candidate has to have a certain education and those where he does not have to be literate. These facts have a bearing on the recruitment pattern. In the first case the person can go himself and ask for a job for which he thinks he is qualified. In the second case, especially when the respective place of work is located in Kathmandu he often needs someone to introduce him. It is very difficult to get a job in town without having someone to help. In a few cases people get their job through schooling, they have been educated specially for the kind of job they are doing, or are accepted by the army after applying. Most Tamang families have at least one member who works either in the marble factory or in the lime-stone quarries. The Tamangs make up the overwhelming work force in these industries. The higher posts are staffed by people from the higher castes, though, like Khatris and Brahmanas. Likewise, a few Tamangs work in the other local institutions such as the Boarding, the Botanical Garden and so on. These low positions on the part of the Tamangs are matched by a very low rate of literacy among them, with members from only a handful of families being able to read and write and none has any formal education beyond 5th class.

As for the people who work away from the panchayat or the area immediately surrounding it, they are almost completely made up of members of the higher jatis, and in well over half the cases

they were helped by other people to get the job. These helpers fall into the categories of kin, friends and villagers. Then there are quite a number of people who maintain that they get their job through their own effort, but others maintain that they must have been helped. The category of people working outside the panchayat who were employed as a result of helping themselves are rather few and as mentioned above have mostly received training for it, and it also seems that some have been accepted by the army without introduction. It should be noted that there is not a rigid pattern with low castes working in low positions around Kitini panchayat and high castes working outside it, but there is a very clear tendency towards this. There are however very few higher-caste members who have high positions in Kathmandu or in any other place away from Kitini panchayat. Many of them hold posts in bureaucracy, however, it is obvious that they have to be literate. And when looking at the rate of literacy among the higher castes it is beyond doubt that they are highly favoured in this respect. Several have passed SLC and have a university education while children of most of the high caste families receive formal education.

This drawing away of people from agriculture has increased considerably during recent years. Earlier there were a few higher-caste people who helped others to jobs, mainly in the army or as peons or watch men. With the increase in schooling possibilities as well as the increase in job opportunities following Nepal's emergence from isolation with the ambition to become a modern state, this trend has increased markedly. And, of course, especially the posts which demand formal education have been occupied by people from Kitini panchayat only rather recently.

In the panchayat there are only two full-time business men, both Silwals, but there are a handful of others who do business on and off, tender for a contract and when the contract is finished, return to Kitini and live on the money until they get a contract again. The two Silwal businessmen, however, have made investments, as was seen in the beginning, both in the lime-stone quarries and in the marble factory. In addition they own lorries, which are used to carry their own goods and are also hired out on a contract basis.

There is thus a change to a more diversified economy and at the same time the status-groups, jatis, that define a person adequately in the local context are not being supplanted by, but exist side by side with status groups of a newer kind which are defined by bureaucratic standing, education, wealth and so on. This change makes it possible, for instance, for one of the Silwal businessmen to have married a Tamang without his children losing status. He commands such a dominating position locally that the matter is never brought forward. In this sense caste, which has never been rigidly defined in Nepal will be even more ambiguous and will tend more and more, but maybe never completely, to depend on other

factors making up a person's status. So far, however, caste is stronger than class and this for two reasons. One is that caste and class have a tendency to go together and the other is that land, which is the basic for caste is still the ultimate security for most people. This can be seen in the loyalties that the people working outside the agricultural sphere have. These who work in Kathmandu, for instance, maintain that Kitini is their home and that it is there they want to live; and they see their time in Kathmandu as a necessary evil. They stay in town to earn money, to get an education or both. They do not easily form friendships in town that overshadow their commitment to Kitini; and they go to Kitini when they have leisure. In a way this may be surprising. One would have thought, at least for people with education, that they would feel more at home with other people who have had schooling and who do the same kind of work, rather than longing to be back in the village. Apart from the purely psychological pull the fact of having grown up there may exert on a person, I think that the explanation has to do with the fact that society is still based ultimately on the necessity of possessing land, and the kind of social relations that this gives rise to. First of all land is an economic asset. In Kitini panchayat, like all over Nepal, people would not be able to survive physically without their land. Wages and salaries obtainable outside are too small to be depended on; and land and the circle of kin are the only means of subsistence a person has when ill or old. The land being the ultimate point of reference for an individual means that it also has strong symbolic qualities. One interacts with one's kin, one is dependent on them and they are the people with whom one shares life crises. When the settlement pattern, as in Kitini, is made up of hamlets, often at a considerable distance from each other, each inhabited mainly by one caste this tendency to exclusion in favour of kin-and caste-fellows is increased. This fragmented social set-up can also be seen at festivals and on other ritual occasions. The effective units who gather together are the families, rarely does the whole caste or even the clan come together. Thus, there is also a religious stress on the small kin unit. An additional factor explaining the strong attachment to Kitini felt by people who work elsewhere might perhaps be that most of them, although they live away during the week, are not so far away that they cannot maintain effective communication with their families; as a result ties are not broken for any long periods of time.

To put this in terms of class (economic class, that is) one could say that the class positions that people acquire as a result of their work outside farming are secondary to their positions as farmers, a class to which almost all belong (even if there are differences within this class, like those who own their land and those who are tenants. Tenants, however, have a secure position as a result of the land reform). There are only 15 families in the whole panchayat who do not farm. One might imagine that the situation would be different for them, but one has to remember the cultural

environment which forces them to take part in the inclusion-of-kin, exclusion-of-others exercise in which everybody else is engaged. And, as a result of this, they live with their kin, who farm. They probably own a house and live in a hamlet with their caste-fellows. And lastly, they would be even worse off if they left and tried to get work some-where else. So, even in the case of the few landless people, they too are still tied to the land by extension as it were, both by hard material necessities and by softer ideological considerations.

As for the wage-work on the lands of the other people, there is once again a correlation with caste status. Many high-caste families get enough produce from their lands to feed the family members, while a great number of lower-caste families have to resort to agricultural labour to make up for food shortage (among the Tamangs, for instance, only 3 families are able to rely entirely on the produce of their lands, while the figure for the Khatris is 63).

So far, I have been mainly concerned with economic conditions and how these determine the behaviour of people. The change that is taking place in the economic sphere is related to developments on an all-Nepal level, and is the result both of purposeful planning and unintended results of Nepal's emergence into the world arena. For the people of Kitini panchayat, some new opportunities are there for the taking. To a certain degree they can choose whether to make use of them or not (although one could argue that their low income from the land would make them eager to grasp the opportunities). In this sense Government involvement in the lives of people is indirect. When one turns to the political side, however, it becomes direct. All panchayats must have the same administration, a panchayat elected by universal adult suffrage, and this panchayat has to act according to specific rules. In Kitini panchayat an active role in politics is mainly confined to the higher castes. This is obvious, since they have the education, the connections and the necessary experience to realize what it is all about. Their political horizons go beyond the panchayat and they are in a position to know the rules of the game. It is notable that, despite their high proportion in the total population of the panchayat, there is only one Tamang member on the panchayat and he comes from a ward where the voters are exclusively Tamang. Politics in Kitini panchayat is mainly the business of the Silwals. They are high caste, own most of the land and they are numerous. There are at least two factions among them and then economics enters again, since the two Silwal business men although they do not engage actively in politics have often the power to make or break a candidate, although this is not always true. The reasons for voting for a candidate are different depending on whether the voter is literate and has some knowledge of political issues or not. In the case of an illiterate voter, it is often a matter of being the last to persuade him, since to an illiterate person the candidate and the promises he gives are more important than references to

cloudy political ideas. People are often treated to tea, cigarettes, food or wine in order to make them vote for a certain candidate. Ties of an economic kind, like bista relationship, tenancy and so on are exploited. Kinship plays a considerable role, both among the illiterate and the more educated.

Among the higher castes, where the candidate and the prospective voter are often on the same level both in terms of status and education, the reasons for changing allegiances may often be petty squabbles or an alleged insult and as a result the membership composition of political groups and factions can change quite frequently. I would also refer this to the role that land plays. Since the people in the high castes share to a great extent the same status position, issues have to be personal rather than based on different class interests. Arguments about land boundaries and diversion of irrigation water play a big role in this context. In the same way, the leaders of the factions may remain rather constant but the membership varies. Even on this level, personality and relations between individuals far outweigh ideological considerations when allegiance to one or the other candidate is being decided on.

There are also class organizations in the village. They are composed of active politicians and high-caste people and they lead a rather dormant life. The ones that exist are: Farmer's Organization, Ex-Servicemen's Organization, Youth Organization. The general impression is that the members do not know what to do with the organizations. There has also been a co-operative shop, but it has gone out of business. Some say this was because of lack of skill in the management, others maintain it was because of weak support from the parent organization.

The land reform had some success in Kitini panchayat. Landlordism was never a problem and in this respect no spectacular achievements were possible. In the area of compulsory savings it was a failure. These were not collected after the first year due to the fact that they were not adequately stored and maintained. It was in the fields of loans and security of tenants that the land reform was most successful. Many loans were simply not repaid and a number of money lenders incurred losses, in some cases substantial. Most tenants were registered although a few are still without rights due to "special arrangements". In this case the individualistic bent in politics worked in favour of the tenants, since the opponents of one landowner would tell his tenants that they could get security of tenure, and he in turn would tell the tenants of his opponents the same thing. The land-owners never united against the tenants in an attempt to prevent them getting security of tenure. Instead they tried to harass their adversaries by means of encouraging their tenants

Up to now, I have been talking about men. But since the fate of women in Nepal has been discussed in relation to development I shall indicate their position in Kitini panchayat. Women do the day-to-day work on the fields in addition to their household chores. They also work the fields of other people on an exchange basis which is often restricted to families of the same caste or neighbours-which very often amounts to the same thing. The world of the women is very much tied to what I called the rural economy and their status is virtually completely explicable in terms of their caste status. A man may have a status in virtue of being an officer or a clerk, but his wife, living on the land in Kitini, is still known by her caste status. As was mentioned earlier the education of women is grossly underdeveloped and there are only a couple of women, both widows, who have taken up work in Kathmandu. Both work as cooks and got the jobs through connections from Kitini. Women work for wages, though. Either on the land of other people at peak seasons or, and this is mainly true of the Tamang women, in the marble-factory or in the lime-stone quarries. The work pattern of Tamang women is different from that of the men. The men tend to work more regularly, while the women work there when they can get away from agricultural work. There is no Women's Organization in Kitini panchayat and women are simply non-existent in politics. Most of the time they stay in the house - their most popular diversions being a chat at the water tap or by the stream when washing clothes. Many women get money from their paternal homes if their kin can afford it; and they have a small economic sphere of their own, where they lend each other small amounts of money for extra articles of consumption which are not within the official household budget. On the whole, the daily routine for the women in Kitini panchayat seems to be more or less the same, no matter what caste they belong to. There are of course relative differences in the living standards of the individual families, but these are quantitative rather than qualitative.

The argument of this essay is simple. It puts forward the idea that Kitini panchayat in social terms can be understood from the role that land plays both in a material and in a social way. But since Kitini is not isolated from the world around, developments on the national, and perhaps even international level have to be taken into account. Still, the ultimate point of reference must be the locality and will remain so until the transformation of Nepal has gone so far that land is no longer the sine qua non for existence.

Footnotes

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The Rodighar and its Role in Gurung Society

Ellen Andors

Rodighar, an institution found among the Gurungs of Nepal, has been described briefly by other researchers such as Bista, ¹ Macfarlane, ² and Pignède ³. Institutions similar in name and concept exist among the Magars, another Nepalese group (Hitchcock) ⁴. On one level, the rodighar (ghar N- house, from ro II G- ro- friends? or sleeping place, tii- house) can be described as a nightly social gathering place, a semi-permanent dormitory where young girls and boys of the village congregate to sing, talk and joke.

In some areas, the rodighar seems to be dying out. Indeed, many Gurung villages no longer have fixed rodi houses as such, although they did in the recent past. Some authors have suggested that this is due to the influence of the surrounding Hindu society and its values (Pignède, Macfarlane) ⁵. In the eyes of outsiders, a society that allows its boys and girls to gather and interact freely is considered to be lax and immoral. Thus, social disapproval, coming initially from outside the community, which in turn, affects the thinking of the members of the community itself, is cited as a factor responsible for the ongoing disappearance of the rodighar.

There is a tendency, however, to view the rodighar as a single-purpose institution, emphasizing only one of its aspects, that of a social 'night-club', which functions in a society where other, more sophisticated forms of entertainment are lacking. This view ignores the more important aspects of the rodi house. The aim of this paper is to supplement this view, in brief, to describe more fully the actual organization and activities of the rodi house, outlining the integral part it plays in the economic, social and ritual organization of the village. The description is confined to one area of Nepal (Lamjung district), where the rodighar exists in an apparently flourishing state, and is based on data collected primarily in one village ⁶. Reasons will be suggested as to why the rodi might be disappearing from Gurung society. Outside social disapproval, although relevant, may be only one accounting factor.

There are many similarities between the Gurung rodighar, and institutions found, for example among the Muria Gonds of Central India ⁷ and the Nagas of Assam ⁸. In these societies, as other researchers have noted, the young peoples' dormitories play a significant part in regulating a good deal of village social activity. They function as socializers of the younger members of society, and they are centers from which many economic and religious activities are organized and carried out. But unlike the Gurung rodi, in the Indian examples, sexual activity between boys

and girls is allowed and often encouraged. It is seen as a means of preparing for marriage, or in some cases, as a selection process for finding suitable marriage partners. This part of village dormitory life, is, no doubt, what attracts the most attention on the part of casual observers, blotting out interest in any of its more important activities. Unfortunately, the stress on the sexual aspect, results in a distortion of the situation, while the real significance of these types of institutions for the societies in which they're found is only vaguely perceived.

In the Gurung rodi, if sexual activity takes place, it is certainly not a frequent occurrence, and in any case, is carried out as secretly as possible. Preparation for marriage, in this sense, is not seen as a crucial issue. It could also be suggested that the rodi house serves the basic function of letting young people get to know each other, making it easier to eventually pick husbands or wives. But this is not exactly accurate. A large percentage of marriages are contracted with people outside the village and are arranged by parents and relatives. Most of the social interaction that takes place between rodi boys and girls, however, involves people of the same village. Only occasionally (at marriages, ceremonial occasions or visiting) do young people have the opportunity to visit other villages, when they can socialize with other boys and girls, gathering in their rodi houses. Perhaps the marriages that take place between people from the same village who have known each other all their lives are more durable than many parent-arranged inter-village marriages, where a couple finds itself incompatible only after getting to know each other. But, in general, the rodi house's role in facilitating marriage arrangements is not its only one, nor is it of primary importance. More significant, are the functions it fulfills in other spheres of village life.

Organization of the Rodighar

Every rodi house goes through a kind of life-cycle, from its first inception, through maturity, until its gradual, but final dissolution. Because, different age groupings, as well as friendship networks form the basis of rodi-group association, there are usually a few separate rodies within a village, and in larger villages, one might find as many as ten or twelve different rodi houses. It is important to note that membership is not restricted in terms of economic or social status; all rodies include both 16-jat and 4-jat people, ¹⁰ from rich and poor Gurung families. In general, the rodi houses tend to be located in 4-jat homes, although in at least one nearby village, they are beginning to form in 16-jat houses as well.

From about the age of 8 or 9, a core-group of about 10-15 little girls form, usually those who have played together since early childhood. They meet informally, after eating the evening meal, at one of their members' houses, often but not always

sleeping there. By the age of 10 or 11, attendance and sleeping arrangements have become more permanent, and at this time, boys of approximately the same age begin to come regularly every evening, to sit and joke with the girls, going home to sleep in their own homes. They usually play drums, sing and practice thetar (dances set to Nepali folk-songs), instructed by a few older boys and girls. These dances will later be performed publicly.

Within a year or two of this more regular organization, a public ceremony, called rotII dareba (dareba G- to fix, to make certain) is held. This ceremony is an affirmation of the rodi house as a socially recognized entity. The headmen of the village choose an auspicious day for the ceremony. A special ritual dance is performed and all the girls of the rodi house receive aashik (N- a blessing) from the dancers. In return, the girls have to supply beer, wine and other refreshments to the dancers and village headmen, as well as a contribution of money (Rs. 10-15) which goes into the village fund. One of the headmen usually makes a short speech to the girls, telling them in effect, to 'live together, train for your life's work together, and prepare for your later marriage'.

The middle-range aged rodi houses (girls from about 16-23) are organized along the same lines as these younger 'junior' rodies. Men and boys, anywhere from ages 16 to 35 and often older, attend. Arriving in the evening (usually after most of the girls have assembled), in small groups or individually, they sing and joke with the girls; and it is sometimes quite late before the boys all leave to sleep. Even when agricultural work is at its most arduous, boys and girls in the rodi frequently stay up half the night, talking and singing. Although they may get very little sleep, they are always up early and go out to perform a full day's work. This pattern is somewhat harder on the girls, who tend to stay in the rodi every night, rather than sleeping at home, but most people learn to adjust to sleeping through what are often crowded and noisy conditions. In general, nightly attendance at the rodi is fairly regular. Only during the monsoon, when people are sometimes working far away from the village and are gone for days and weeks at a time, does attendance drop off.

The older rodi groups (girls from the ages of 23-30) have gone through the first two stages. The format for a typical rodi evening is similar, however. By this time, many of the girls have gotten married and their numbers and attendance tend to be reduced. This reduction goes on until there are too few members to form a feasible group and the rodi dissolves gradually. Some of the married members have moved to their husband's village, some have gone out of the country with husbands who are soldiers, serving in the British or Indian armies. Many married women continue to attend rodi, if they are still living in their own villages, for at least a few years after their marriage. Actually,

women seem to put off moving to their husband's village for a long time, since it involves a break with their life-long friends, and means living with unfamiliar people in a new environment. Although they may make short visits to their husband's village every so often, extending their length of stay each time, many women may bear one or two children before moving permanently. This is especially true in the case of women whose husbands are serving long terms in the Gurkha regiments of the Indian or British armies. They often prefer not to stay with their in-laws until their husbands have come back to the village permanently. Men, too, still continue to go to rodi, even after getting married, although they might attend less frequently.

The mother, (or other senior female relative if the mother is absent or dead) of the girl in whose house the rodi is organized, is called rodi ama (N) or rotshyoama (G), the father, rotshyo aab (G). The rodi ama is frequently more of a public figure since she often sleeps in the rodi house and may be more involved with seeing that proper equipment is supplied (sleeping mats, enough kerosene, food for periodic celebrations). The power the rodi ama wields in regulating behavior in the rodi depends on the individual personality. Some are very influential, others don't interfere very much at all.

The members of the rodi house have a special system of names for each other. The head of the rodi (the girl in whose house it is) is referred to as rotIIr be (G - literally, of the rodi house,) by her girlfriends. All the other girls have names corresponding to where their houses are located in the village. Another system of address is used among the boys and girls of rodi age. Although the rotIIr be is responsible for certain matters, she does not always act as the main organizer for the various activities of the group. In practise, the rodi functions as usual when she is away from the village for any length of time.

In addition to the number of girls' rodi in any one village, there are boys' rodis as well, which are similarly based on age and friendship groupings. But unlike the girls' rodis, the boys' houses do not involve permanent sleeping arrangements or gathering places for its members. Furthermore, membership in a group is overlapping and fluid; that is, a boy can be a member of several groups at one time. Girls can never do this; they are loyal to their own rodi. When the boys do function as a unit, it is only on occasions, to carry out certain activities a few times during the year. During a marriage ceremony, for example, a group of boys may help to carry the bride and accompany her friends to her husband's village. At times during leisure periods, a boys' rodi may go to visit rodi girls in a nearby village. Boys may also decide to participate with rodi girls of their own age in an elaborate exchange party, lasting for days. In addition, during certain important ritual festivals during the year, in which a girls'

rodi plays an important part, a boys' group will be called upon by the girls for help in running things. Often, different boys' groups compete with each other for the privilege of helping the girls and participating directly in the festival. In general, many of the activities of village boys and girls are characterized by cooperation and interaction via membership in their rodi houses. These activities will now be described in more detail.

Functions and Activities of the Rodi

Much of the agricultural work in a Gurung village is done on a cooperative basis. The system of huri (N) or nOgar (G) has been described in more detail in other works on the Gurungs (Pignède, Macfarlane) 11. Briefly, it is a system, wherein a group of individuals works on each others' land on a rotation basis. The work is made more enjoyable and goes faster in the presence of a group of friends, who often sing and joke while working. Nogars are organized for practically every type of agricultural activity; in January-February for carrying firewood; in March, through May for carrying fertilizer and preparing fields for the next planting; in June, for planting rice, in August and September, for weeding paddy. The age limit for joining a nOgar is not fixed; however younger people of rodi age tend to be the main participants. While both young and old are sometimes in the same nOgar group, most groups are composed of individuals of roughly the same age.

For many of the nOgars, the core group consists of girls belonging to the same rodi. In one rodi house, there are usually too many girls (considering the need for male labor) to form an efficiently sized group, so they may split into two or three groups. The male membership varies more from season to season. At certain times during the year, there may be intense competition and rivalry among the different girls' groups for recruiting boys to their nOgar. At such times, a day or two before the nOgar is scheduled to begin, girls rush around trying to recruit boys (who are popular or considered to be good workers), taking their woven rain hats and mattocks as tokens of the boys' promise to join their work party. Sometimes there are hard feelings (which are short-lived) between girls' groups if a boy goes off with their rivals.

There are many other types of mutual labor exchange which are utilized in the village. Another system, lhoba (G- to help), involves a group of individuals who offer their services to a person without payment. Lhoba is used at certain times, for example in harvesting rice or carrying firewood. It is often done among rodi girls, when, for instance, all the members of the rodi, working as a unit, offer their services to the rotlir be. This can be interpreted as a kind of payment, in return for the extra expense or responsibility that she and her family incur as hosts of the rodi

house. There is a lot of stress in the society, on the ethic of 'paying back services'. In accordance with this value, the girls of one rodi may, in addition offer to labor to a boy or to boys who, throughout the year, have presented the girls with gifts, or who have helped them in one way or another.

At other times, when cooperative labor groups are not being utilized, attempts to work with friends are made, whenever possible. The thought is often expressed, that, to go to one's fields alone or only with workers is tedious and depressing, as opposed to working with friends. In the monsoon, when work in the lower fields involves working and sleeping away from the village, friends try to at least stay together at night in temporary huts. The desire to spend a lot of time with groups of friends is strong, especially among girls of the same rodi house.

In connection with other activities of the village, the various rodi groups fulfill additional important functions. The period, roughly between February through late July is designated as the summer season (Barkha rita N; Turgu G), and is the special time for performing ghAAnto (a traditional ritual dance, found only among Gurungs, but whose story, confusingly, is Hindu in theme). A portion of the dance, however, can be performed at any time of the year-on village holidays, days of leisure, at marriages, and often when a returned soldier or outside visitor comes to the village. The dance is traditionally performed by two 16-jat girls. Within each rodi group at least two girls are trained in the dance (usually by male gurus or teachers), and therefore, theoretically any rodi group (except those younger ones who have not yet mastered the dance) can decide to perform ghAAnto. Often, they will choose to invite a number of soldiers on leave, or outside visitors to see the performance. Aashik (a blessing) is given to the invited guests, at which point, the guests are expected to contribute some money, sometimes a considerable sum. A few rupees go to the dancers, another share to the ghAAnto gurume (men who sing the verses of the song), the rest of the money goes to the rodi fund. Part of the money in the fund is used to cover the expenses of the evening (refreshments etc.), but later, the accumulated money, after many such performances may go into hosting a feast. A buffalo or goat is cut and the meat is distributed to relatives, friends and to people who have helped the girls throughout the year.

On occasion, the village headmen decide to host a ghAAnto performance, with the assistance of a rodi group, similarly inviting guests who contribute money. The dancers and gurume get their small share, while the rest of the money goes into the village fund, later to be used in holding a public feast.

One of the biggest village festivals of the year occurs in mid-May on Baisakh Purne. At this time, a special section of the ghAAnto dance is performed for three days in a row. This festival is very time-consuming and costly and involves butchering many animals, feasting, and distributing meat and other food to the village as a whole. Outside musicians have to be brought in and there are many types of entertainment going on at one time, with the ghAAnto ritual the center of attention. One rodi group is officially designated as the daata (N-donors), that is, they are given the responsibility, not only for dancing, but for carrying out the major tasks or organizing when and how the dance is going to be performed. They have to make sure all the necessary equipment is supplied (like costumes, ornaments and props). They supply food and wine to all the participants and consult with other groups who are helping them run the dance. In this, they seek the help of one group of boys who will be responsible for feeding and housing the outside musicians (damai). The girls also consult with the village headmen, who in part, oversee the collection and distribution of food and money, as well as with the gurus about matters pertaining to the performance itself. During this time, attendance is compulsory for every member of the rodi. Absence incurs a fine.

Usually a rodi group will hold the official responsibility for presenting the ghAAnto for three years in a row. (In any case, they must hold it for an odd number of years) It is among the middle-range aged rodi groups (those girls from 16-23 approximately) that the choice of a new daataa is made by the village headmen and young boys, when the last group has finished up its term. Sometimes, there is competition between rodi houses, as when there are two same-aged groups in line. If so, a compromise must be made. The headmen and young boys are theoretically responsible for this decision but the girls often exert pressure in their own way. In one case, when there was a dispute over their group having to give up their daataa-ship when three years were over, the girls prevailed over the headmen's decisions and kept the ghAAnto for another two years before they finally gave it over to the next group. The issue of the ghAAnto is often a source of contention between rival rodi groups and at times creates a lot of conflict in the village as a whole.

Much of the expense of performing ghAAnto, such as feasting, has to be borne by the rodi group in charge, although, in part, some of the expenses are carried by the boys' group who are co-operating with them. These expenses are met with money from their ghAAnto fund, raised by getting contributions from family, friends and invited guests (those who are expected to contribute after receiving aashik from the dancers). The money which is left over after the expenses of running the ghAAnto and the rodi house stays in the general rodi fund, and after finishing up their responsibility as daataa, it is traditional for the group to take a trip to

such places as Pokhara or Dudhpokhari. This type of trip is an important opportunity for the girls, who would otherwise rarely get the chance to go even though Pokhara can be reached in a day.

After a rodi group finishes out its official term it still plays a role in the ghAAnto festival of Baisakh Purne. The former daataa become guru shyome (G- female teachers). The make-up of the dancers is elaborate and time-consuming and must be re-applied each morning of the festival. If it is not carried out perfectly, it is believed that great harm may befall the village and the dancers themselves. Only this senior group, the guru shyome because of their experience, are entrusted with the job.

There is a similar organization set up for the winter season (hiuda ritu N, Maargu G). Another dance, Krishna Chalitra performed by four young men is put on especially at Dasain, at funerals, weddings and at purbute, a ceremony held for the eldest male child of a family. As in ghAAnto, the dancers give aashik to invited guests who contribute money (daan N- a gift). Contributions are also obtained from spectators as well as from the family hosting the marriage or purbute. A senior girls' rodi group is responsible for making up the dancers, who wear elaborate costumes, supplying all the clothes and ornaments each time the dance is performed. This girls' group is similarly called dattaa. The money collected on these occasions is given to the village fund and later used to finance one or more feasts, for the village as a whole. Although it is traditional for the daataa girls to get a double share of meat at this feast, it was customary for them to run up and steal as much meat as they could during its distribution, claiming it to be their rightful share for all the work they had done. This practice was recently discontinued because the girls were stealing too much meat, but they still receive an extra share.

Thetar

Thetar, performances of Nepali songs, and dances and sometimes comedy routines, has been an ongoing phenomenon for about the last twenty years and is becoming increasingly popular. It can be put on at any time of the year. A particular girls' rodi may organize a group of their own, but occasionally a couple of rodies join together to organize a thetar party. As the girls can not run everything by themselves, they need the help of a group of boys to teach the songs and dances (learned in most cases from the radio), to help set up the stage and get equipment and to play drums and sing. Girls and boys work together, deciding on what songs are to be performed, and who to invite as special guests (those who are expected to contribute money). One of the big thetar groups consists of both young and older (middle range) members from several different rodi houses. The money collected from their performances is given over to the Adult (night) School fund of the village. A second thetar party consists of one single junior rodi

house, although they assisted by one of the older rodi groups in learning the dances and putting on the shows. The individual dancers receive personal contributions from spectators but most of the money collected goes to their own fund, which is used to buy instruments, to cover expenses, and when there is enough money, to hold a feast.

Many informants have asserted, that village ceremonies have become less elaborate in recent years. It can therefore be expected that the roles of all participants, including the rodi houses, have diminished. One reason for the decreased intensity with which these ceremonies are carried out is that they incur a lot of expenses and consumption of material goods and that this is becoming increasingly harder to bear. Because of this, other rodi customs, such as those involving costly exchanges and feasting obligations between boys and girls of rodi age, are beginning to come under attack by the village headmen. According to some older informants, who were attending rodi forty to sixty years ago, in their youth, there used to be a more constant reciprocal stream of gifts and feasts exchanged between boys' and girls' rodi groups. One such elaborate system, sIIIU tshOnab (G sIIIU-presents, tshOnab- to go to put in) is still practised. It works as follows: a group of boys will first present a girls' rodi with gifts-drums and an enormous load of food (one or two pathis of specially prepared rice for each rodi girl and the rodi ama). The boys come to stay in the girls' rodi house for two or three days at a time, the girls cutting a goat, buffalo, preparing the food and feasting the boys. This part of the system symbolizes the opening of the relationship between a group of boys and girls of roughly the same age. Later, theoretically five to ten years after, when the girls' rodi is more or less on the point of dissolving, the girls go to the boys' house with a return payment, called sIIIU phonab (G, phonab to go to pay back). The girls bring a load of breads for each boy (about 100 pieces in each load), with an extra load for their rodi ama, plus plenty of wine and beer. The preparation of these things is expensive and involves the participation of all the girls working full time for about two days straight. After delivering their load of presents, the girls have to stay in turn, in the boys' house, being feasted with as much delicious food as the boys can force them to accept. Both boys and girls distribute part of their shares of presents to relatives and neighbors. When the girls go to pay back the boys after a number of years, this signifies, the end of their relationship, a 'divorce of their love' for each other. The system, theoretically involves one presentation from the boys' side with one return payment from the girls. In practise, it is a bit more complicated. A girls' group may decide to return sIIIU, after a year or two. At that point, the boys can renew the cycle all over again by immediately presenting the girls with more gifts, which puts the girls again in the position of having to pay back. This frequently occurs. Moreover, a girls' group may be involved in

doing sIIIU with two, three or four boys ' groups at a time. The boys are free to engage in this not only with the different girls's rodīs of their own village, but they go outside as a group, to participate with girls ' groups in other villages as well.

When raising materials for these big feasts, a division of services takes place within the rodi house itself. 16-jat girls are only expected to raise half as much of the necessary goods (ghiu, flour, rice etc) as 4-jat girls. On the other hand, the 16-jat girls do most of the cleaning up and other types of work involved in putting on the feast such as collecting materials and cooking. This works similarly in the boys's rodīs. As a group, 16-jat tend to be slightly less better off economically than 4-jat, and although some of the 16-jat people who are contributing half of what a 4-jat person contributes, are not necessarily poorer than their 4-jat counterparts, these social distinctions are still made and adhered to.

During these feasting parties, a great deal of importance is placed on reciprocity and 'paying back well'. Members who are absent when it is their rodi's turn to pay back, must provide a substitute, - someone from their family to contribute materials and help in the preparations. The different girls' rodīs vie with one another in presenting the boys with as much food as possible. Boys, too, set themselves up to see how well and expensively they can feast the girls.

Interestingly enough, a few older informants have reported that this system seems to be disappearing. It is true that the headmen of the village have tried to put a stop to it and when this complete measure failed, they threatened the rodi girls and boys, that if they didn't at least cut down the amount of food and time spent in feasting and partying with one another, in the future, they would have to pay a fine to the village. In general, the mood of the young people is one of resistance. A common attitude is that the headmen of the village had kept the system up until now, and had enjoyed it when they were young, and they (the younger people) want to keep it going 12.

Other organized attempts have been made in the past to abolish not only sIIIU tshOnab, but the rodi and ghAAnto as well. In 1951, a committee was formed under the supervision of the headmen of Ghanpokhara- a nearby village. People from several surrounding villages came to attend a meeting where a constitution was drawn up. The aim of the constitution was to bring about reforms in these traditional systems. The feeling of the group was that rodi, ghAAnto, etc, were not conducive to progress and should be abolished. Young people, instead of attending school or paying attention to other serious matters, were spending their time in the rodi house and wasting money and resources in feasts and celebrations, rather than investing them into more profitable channels. At this time, they also made it compulsory for all children to attend

school and for adults to attend night school. The group met in the center of the village. All the instruments of the rodi house were collected and smashed publicly as a declaration of change. The new rules were followed for about two years, after which people began to resume traditional systems. Some changes were brought about; schools began to run smoothly and perhaps the old rodi-ghAAnto system suffered a slight decline in intensity and importance, but in general, in several other villages where the influence of these events was felt during this time, it has apparently had no lasting effect.

There are other numerous examples of mutual exchange between boys and girls of rodi age, some of which may have occurred more intensely in the past, although this is difficult to ascertain exactly. Boys used to weave very fine rain-shields (khU G, shyaku N), make elaborate bamboo combs and cigarette-holders to give to favorite girl-friends, the girls wove rengas (G- a finely woven piece of material worn draped over the shoulders) and produced other hand-made items, as presents for boys. Girls traditionally would (and still do) invite boys over to their rodi to eat shyokai (G shyo- to raise, kai- grain or rice), an elaborately prepared meal, on days of leisure or after finishing a work-party together. The boys, in turn would invite the girls. These patterns of reciprocity continue to be enacted in present situation. For example, when a fair is being held nearby, boys and girls attend together, buying each other tea, cigarettes and food, in what can almost be termed a contest of reciprocity. Gifts continue to be exchanged among young people (nowadays things like bazaar-bought combs, necklaces, lighters or more expensive items brought back by soldiers on leave are popular gifts), the girls giving hand-embroidered pillowcases, hand-kerchiefs, etc., to boys they especially like.

Although these patterns of reciprocal gift-exchange continue, given the direction Gurung society seems to be following, it might be fair to predict that many of these traditions, if they don't disappear altogether, will be undergoing change at an increasing rate. Changes have been occurring over time, but they seem to have been gradual, whereas from now on, the rate and intensity will probably accelerate. These ongoing and future changes can be seen as a reflection of a shift in the economic base of Gurung society. First of all, there are not as many available resources as there were in the past. While population has increased, the size of land-holding per family has become smaller. The herds of sheep, goat and buffalo (on which the Gurungs used to be more exclusively dependent for their livelihood) have undergone large reductions over the years. According to many older informants, there never were food shortages in the past, as there was enough land to feed everyone. The village used to be almost completely self-sufficient economically. Nowadays, many people either buy grains from richer villagers, those with a surplus, or they must go outside

the village to purchase grains as well as other supplies. Although money is not as scarce as it used to be and has become more a part of everyday economic transactions, the prices of most goods have gone up far out of proportion in comparison to the increased availability of money. Fifty or sixty years ago, a milking buffalo might have cost Rs. 30, it now costs Rs. 300-400. About sixty-five years ago, a muri of dhan (unhusked rice) could be obtained for Rs. 50, now it is up to Rs. 100. In short, goods have gotten scarce and expensive and will probably be even more so in the near future. Despite all this, up until now, the income from army service and pensions have tended to keep the Gurungs on a fairly adequate economic level, allowing poorer people to supplement their income, since army recruitment is open to all, rich or poor ¹³.

As Macfarlane points out, in the past, large distinctions of wealth were not easily established and maintained over generations because of a number of factors, among them: impartible inheritance tended to break up landholdings at each generation, the absence of links to a market economy where surpluses could be used for investment and even greater profit; a shortage of labor (no unemployment), and an ethic of consumption and distribution ¹⁴.

In many Gurung ceremonies, as those described above, a significant feature (besides consuming a large quantity of food) is obtaining contributions from people, usually those individuals who are known to be well-off by village standards. The money is not used to enrich any one person or single group in the village, but eventually is distributed by means of the village fund or rodi houses, through the mechanism of feasting, involving many people. In the past, rich people were respected not because they owned a lot of land and goods, per se, but because they were generous with what they had. As one rich old man stated, "We have always had to spend a lot to maintain our prestige and status".

Nowadays, not only have goods become scarce, necessitating a reduction of drawn-out and costly ceremonies, but economic differentiation may be on the increase ¹⁵. As the ceremonies and rituals of Gurung society become less relevant and feasible, given future changes, so one would expect the important functions the various rodi groups play in carrying them out also to diminish. Indeed, although there is no tight correlation, in some villages where rodighar is reported to be disappearing, the traditional ghAAnto and other ritual dances have not been performed for many years. (Pignède) ¹⁶ The rodi houses, as focuses of spheres of distribution and circulation of goods within the village, with their values of reciprocity and competition for 'paying back well', would have to change, given a future society where these values were no longer esteemed and economic distinctions become socially relevant. As money becomes more and more a means of exchange, and economic differences between families widen, cooperative labor patterns may eventually be replaced by

work on a wage basis. Thus, another functional aspect of the rodighar (its role in labor-group formation) and its values of cooperation learned through years of young people closely associating and interacting, will become less important.

In other areas of Nepal, where Gurungs have resettled in large numbers, most of these traditions have all but disappeared. On one level, this may be attributed to factors of isolation and unfamiliarity, as in parts of Chitwan, where resettled families from various parts of the hills live in scattered settlements. More significant, however, is the absence in these resettlement areas, of a semi-closed village economy. In such an economy, these traditional activities take on important functions in maintaining cooperation and reciprocal labor ties and in the redistribution and consumption of material goods, where surpluses could not be easily or profitably invested. In addition, they are a source of entertainment and relaxation among people who are in intimate interaction, having lived together all their lives.

Although there are other varied mechanisms by which resources (both labor and material goods) are redistributed and an overall feeling of cooperation is achieved in a Gurung village, it is evident that the rodi houses play a significant role, since they act as training centers for young people in these matters. Much of the time of boys and girls is spent in communal activity, working together in busy times and in leisure hours, planning and preparing for village entertainment, ceremonies and feasts. For girls especially, the experience of being in such close cooperation with each other from an early age is significant--in a way, it sets the tone for what has been, up until now, much of the traditional activity that takes place in a Gurung village.

Conclusion

If Hindu influence and social disapproval of the immorality the rodighar supposedly represents were a basic factor in the gradual disappearance of rodi, it would still not explain certain things. There is one old man in the village, for example, who considers himself to be the main exponent and interpreter of Hinduism for the rest of the villagers. Not only was there rodi held in his house when he was a boy, but it has continued through his daughter's time right up through the present rodi of his grand-daughter. Moreover, in several nearby Gurung villages, the influence of Hinduism is very marked and has been for years. There are, however, an abundance of rodi houses and a continuation of its traditionally associated activities. In these situations, there doesn't seem to be a necessary correspondence between Hindu influence and the demise of the rodighar. If the rodi does die out, it will more likely be linked to other types of changes, especially those occurring in the socio-economic base of Gurung society.

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6. The material presented in this paper is based on on-going re-
search being carried out in a Gurung village in Central Lam-
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fic situation existing in this particular village. Although
there are slight variations in tradition found as one goes
from village to village, from comparative surveys carried
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ticle reflects the general pattern in Gurung villages in the
surrounding nearby areas.
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9. There is one major 4-jat (see note 10) with virtually no one
within the village with whom they can intermarry. 16-jat be-
cause of the proliferation of different clans have a much wi-
der range of choice, but even so, approximately 60% marry
out. This type of set-up (one major 4-jat with a number of
different 16-jat lineages) is characteristic of many other
local Gurung villages, although the frequency and geographic
distribution of this sort of phenomenon is not clearly estab-
lished.)
10. Gurung society is divided into two groups of hierarchically-
ranked clans, the 4-jat and the 16-jat. The 4-jat are consi-
dered generally to be socially superior, although they are
not necessarily economically superior in all cases.

11. Pignède op cit p. 127-129 Macfarlane op cit p, 53-55
12. In fact, this theme is reiterated at the time of celebrating Baisakh Purne. On the third and last day of the GhAAnto, a parade is formed leading out of the village. A group of younger boys (under 30) and older men get into a mock ritual battle about the following matter: The older men say, in brief, that the ghAAnto should be ended because its a waste of time and involves useless expense. The younger boys reply that they want to keep on with the festival for as long as possible because it's fun. This is somewhat of a reversal from what one would normally expect, with the older people arguing for change and the younger for maintaining traditions. Just how much this theme, itself is a traditional one is unclear. This part of the Baisakh Purne celebration is not held in other villages.
13. Macfarlane, op cit. for further details on Gurung economics, see section III
14. Macfarlane, op cit p. 423-424. (also c.f. Pignède, op cit 185-6)
15. Macfarlane, op cit see especially Conclusion chapter.
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The Role of Fear In the Unification of Nepal

Dr. Ludwig F. Stiller, S.J.

Several years ago Yadu Nath Khanal had the kindness to read the typescript of my book The Rise of the House of Gorkha ¹. It was typical of him that he took the trouble to write a long letter of appreciation of my efforts to analyze the factors involved in the unification of Nepal. Equally typical of him was the fact that in his letter of appreciation he raised a question that demanded further study. He wrote, 'At the end of my reading, I have been left with the feeling that the full meaning of the threat of British expansion in India to the survival and security of the emergent Gorkha State is only implied in your book rather than expressed'.

The question, then, was fairly put. Did British expansion in India constitute a threat to the survival and security of the emergent Gorkha State? Further, if such a threat existed, was Gorkhali reaction one of fear, one of precaution, or one of heightened activity towards internal unity and external security?

My first reaction to the basic premiss was negative. There is an anti-British syndrome in much of the historical literature of Nepal that I feel is anachronistic. Certain historians have read into the late eighteenth century history of Nepal attitudes that did not develop historically until the time of the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-16, or even later. However, on reflection my negative reaction seemed too simplistic, and it was clear that, whether I liked it or not, this question required further study.

Two factors precluded my tackling the problem at that time. First, it was, and is, a very difficult problem. It calls for the discovery of a Nepali attitude towards the British, and there are few things more difficult for an historian to document than an attitude. Secondly, at that time I was far too close to my book to be able to look anew into the documents for nuances that might possibly indicate such an attitude. Consequently I put the question aside for the time with the resolution to take it up again at a later date. In this article I would like to attempt an answer to the question posed by Yadu Nath Khanal, both to show my appreciation for the question and my respect for the questioner.

The Tyranny of Time

I have said the question is difficult, and it is. The difficulty involved is the direct result of the difficulty we experience in trying to understand both the history of Nepal and the history of the East India Company well enough to visualize for ourselves

how these two growing powers must have appeared to one another two centuries ago. It is not really significant historically how we regard either Nepal or the East India Company in this context. It is how they saw one another. Our effort must be directed towards an appreciation of that confrontation. Once we have made this effort the significance of Prithvinarayan Shah's actions or those of the governor of Fort William will be a great deal clearer.

Our effort, however, will be considerable. We are struggling not against ignorance but against the tyranny of time. Whenever, as in the present case, we work with events of two centuries past, we find that time is our enemy, and a very hard-hearted enemy at that. We tend to see things as static that were in reality in violent motion. Also, because of the tyranny of time, we tend to view events in a set pattern instead of seeing them as the conflict between complex and interacting forces. Finally, because of this tyranny of time we lose perspective. We see meaningful connections between events that were temporally or causally remote. For the sake of clarity I will enlarge on each of these points. I think it is important, even at the risk of an apparent digression, that we understand clearly the dimensions of our task before attempting to get on with it.

The tyranny of time causes us to see things as static which were actually in motion. There is a tendency even for historians who have a thorough grasp of the history of Nepal to refer to the British in India as a 'presence' or a 'static force'--a 'background', if you will, against which the drama of Nepalese history develops. In the writing of history, of course, this tendency crystalizes, because the exigencies of space and development force the writer to relegate British Indian history to an introductory chapter, to footnotes, or to an occasional brief comment. The writer's story is about Nepal, and it is very difficult to get on with that story if he is obliged to make constant references to the growth of the East India Company. On reflection, of course, it is obvious to every historian of Nepal that there was nothing static about the British presence in India. There was quite evident growth. Further, a serious study of the East India Company makes it quite apparent that there was much more than growth. There was a change in the attitudes of the Company's servants in India, a change in the nature of the Company's presence in India, and a radical change in the nature of the Company itself. This change is important to our topic and must be taken into consideration in any attempt to understand the problem we have set ourselves in this study.

By token of this same tyranny of time, there is a tendency for us in the latter half of this twentieth century to look back from our point of vantage and see the history of Nepal as a set series of events. We trace the story of the unification of Nepal, from the time of Prithvinarayan Shah's conquest of Nuwakot in

1744 up to the time when Amar Singh Thapa's men fought valiantly but vainly to conquer Kot Kangra in the early nineteenth century, from event to event, according to a set pattern. Historians have carefully traced these events from the records of the past and arranged them in a meaningful order, and we accept their pattern precisely because it is meaningful. This, too, is a trap for the unwary. Working back into the past, as we are, according to the pattern set by historians, we see the success or failure of decisions taken, the playing out of strategies, and the ultimate unification of the Nepali state--and we see only this. We neglect the very important fact that at the time when men like Prithvinarayan Shah were making their critical decisions there was no set series of events. There was no pattern that led neatly up to the final victory. Decisions were painful choices between alternatives, and the decision to do one thing rather than another was taken because at that moment in time it seemed the wiser or safer or more rewarding course to follow. The set patterns are the work of historians. If we want to appreciate the implications of a decision, we must study the possible alternatives to that decision, and in this respect the options that were open to Prithvinarayan Shah were as important as the decisions he made. Since, however, the nature and the quality of these options have usually not been preserved for us, we are caught up by the tyranny of time and almost forced to think of the conscious choices between options through which Prithvinarayan Shah developed his strategies. The danger in such a mode of thinking lies precisely here, that we impose our evaluation of the relative merits, dangers, or benefits to be derived from a given decision and presume that Prithvinarayan Shah acted as he did because he saw the same dangers that we have seen, whereas in fact he may have seen no danger at all or have totally discounted it as a threat.

The third burden that time imposes on the historian is loss of perspective. When we look back into history there is a strong tendency to telescope events. Now anyone who has ever used a telescope knows that a telescope destroys perspective. From our own experience we know that people who are in fact quite some distance apart, when seen through the lens of a telescope, appear to be almost face-to-face. Telescoping does this. When we telescope historical events, we run into two real dangers. One danger lies in our assumption that because events were approximately contemporary there must have been some mutual influence between them. Investigation, however, proves the 'approximately' to have been a gap of five or ten years, and there was, in point of fact, no possibility whatever of mutual influence between the events in question. A second danger, and one far more serious, is the telescoping of growth or change. In studying an institution we find it useful for the purpose of discussion to assign a date for the beginning of this institution (the same could be said, of course, for an historically significant idea or for a movement in history). Then, ignoring the time factor involved in the growth of the institution, we assume in

our thinking that within a few years of the date we have assigned for the beginning of the institution the institution already exercised the influence that historians have attributed to it. Perspective has been lost. In our view of events we have not considered the time that is necessary for growth. Anachronistically we have assigned to the infancy period of the institution the impact that it should have only years later in its maturity. It is this loss of perspective that leads historians and students of history to think of the East India Company as 'static' or a 'backdrop' of history, as I have mentioned earlier. We say to ourselves, 'There was an East India Company, and it was very powerful. It managed to establish itself in power throughout most of India. Such an institution must have constituted a serious threat to Nepal'. We may even put into our statement words like 'gradually', 'successively', or 'in stages', but these words are not operative in our thinking of the East India Company. For all practical purposes we think of the Company as it existed at the turn of the century, say in 1805, and when assume it was like this, only smaller, fifty years earlier. Perspective has been lost, and it must be restored, if we are to have any meaningful understanding of events. Such a restoration will take conscious effort and solid research. This can be done, provided, of course, we first admit to ourselves that such a danger of loss of perspective does in fact exist and that we are in no way immune to it. As far as is humanly possible, we must do away with the approximations that clutter our thinking on the period of history we are examining and ensure that our assumptions are the product of solid reasoning and not the result of labour-saving guess-work.

A. Prithvinarayan Shah

The Chronicles make it very clear that in November 1742 Prithvinarayan Shah went to Banaras. Baburam Acharya and other historians after him lay great stress on this visit, insisting that during his stay in Banaras Prithvinarayan Shah was able to observe the situation then prevailing in North India ². At the same time, my own analysis of Prithvinarayan Shah convinces me that he was a leader endowed with the gifts of keen observation and practical genius. It becomes pertinent, then, to ask ourselves what Prithvinarayan Shah learned while he was in Banaras. It is also useful to ask what significance this knowledge had for him and what action it prompted him to take.

1. Input

The first and most obvious fact that Prithvinarayan Shah would have learned in Banaras, if he had not already come to know it, was that the Mughul empire was in a state of collapse. Such a state of affairs would have challenged his inquisitive mind beyond measure. Surely he must have asked himself the usual question, 'Why?' 'What has happened?' 'How is it possible that Akbar's empire has fallen

apart so rapidly?' A mind of his calibre would certainly have posed far more penetrating questions. 'Why was Akbar content to found an empire-- why not strive for greater unity?' 'Why was the imperial throne the constant bone of contention between rival claimants?' 'Why should emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb have squandered so much time and money and so many men in the vain attempt to bring the Deccan under their sway--what was the logic of this endless assault on the South?' Questions such as these, and probably a good many more, must have agitated Prithvinarayan Shah's mind and demanded something more meaningful as answers than the handy list of causes provided by textbooks and manuals 3.

Akbar was the one who settled for empire. He did it because greater unity was not within his grasp. On this historians agree, though they tend to quibble about the significance of this. Some attribute his actions to prudence; others to foresight; and there are those who say his actions reflected his growing appreciation of the type of state he wanted to structure. The fact remains, however, that Akbar did not conquer the Rajputs of Amber because the conquest would have cost him more than he was able to pay in terms of both human and material resources. He accepted what was basically a compromise because he was too weak to achieve total victory. No matter how diplomatically Akbar was able to weave the Rajputs into the structure of his state, this weakness remained. It was a constant drain on the diplomatic talents of his successors. It demanded constant attention. And it was a constant, though latent, threat to the unity of the Mughul state.

Another area of weakness in the Mughul state that historians tend to gloss over is the very nature of the terrain the empire embraced. Most of the Mughul empire lay in the Indo-Gangetic plain. Troop movements were consequently relatively easy, but distances were vast. The history of Mughul rule indicates that time and time again the centrifugal force of distance thwarted Mughul efforts to dominate the land. The solution that Akbar imposed was one of regional or provincial governors. But distance encouraged rebellion, nourished it, and sometimes crowned it with success. Distance demanded that there be regional armies. And regional armies developed loyalties to their own commanders. Akbar sought but never found an ideal of the state that would command the loyalty of all of his subjects in an effort to overcome this tendency. The very religious tolerance that commended him to the majority was considered heresy by many of those who formed the ruling elite, and so constituted a dividing force. Even the throne, which should have exercised a primitive and basic unifying force, served less and less as a symbol of unity and became largely a symbol of the wealth that the emperor commanded, and therefore a symbol of strife, of contention, and of fratricidal warfare.

The flatness of the Indo-Gangetic plain also dictated the drive toward the Deccan. The plains offered lines of defense that

were too few and lay invitingly open to the enemy of the north. A secure hold on India demanded control of the central Deccan. Only there would the Mughuls find the strong hills combined with sufficient wealth to guarantee a lasting hold on the North. But the very factors that made the Deccan desirable to the Mughuls also made it unattainable. The South was a strong and viable unit, well-endowed by nature for stubborn defense against invading armies. Even when the Mughuls were able to amass the military power needed for conquest of the Deccan, the weaknesses imposed by regionalism and uncertain loyalty within the Mughul empire itself undermined their efforts and led to eventual frustration.

Akbar and the Mughuls never solved the problem of succession to the throne, the problem of distance, nor the problem of decentralization. And these failures only served to enhance the basic weakness inherent in the imperialist concept of a state. The governmental institutions Akbar handed on to his successors were far from the perfect structures they are often represented to have been. Given a reliable formula of succession, men of genius might have made them function to satisfaction. But in the Mughul empire there was no reliable formula of succession, and the men who reached the imperial throne were often so encumbered with political and financial obligations to those who had helped them fight their way to that pinnacle of power and so mediocre as administrators that the system broke down of its own weight.

Prithvinarayan Shah was a man of genius in the world of practical affairs. Once he had seen and discussed this situation prevailing in North India, the least that he would have observed in the Mughul collapse were:

1. The importance of a secure succession;
2. The inherent weakness of the Mughul position as long as Mughul control was limited to the Indo-Gangetic plain; and
3. The problems that communications impose on a unitary state.

It is highly probable that he observed a great deal more in the Mughul collapse than it is possible for me to realize at this point in time, some two hundred years after the event. The points that I have stressed, however, are the very least that I think a man of his stature and ability would have noted for future reference.

A second aspect of events on the Indian scene that must have struck Prithvinarayan Shah forcefully during his visit to Banaras was the rise of the Maratha power. The full import of Maratha incursions into North India has long been obscured because of the romanticizing of Indian history during the nationalist period. The Marathas were Hindus, and they were doing their best to put

the foreign interlopers in their place. This was sufficient to endear them to nationalist historians. In consequence, the mantle of Shivaji was spread widely over the actions of many a Maratha leader who had no more right to share in Shivaji's ideal than a munitions manufacturer has to talk of the ideal of peace. By the time Prithvinarayan Shah reached Banaras the nebulous concept of the Hindu-Pad-Padshahi ⁴ that had been the unifying ideal introduced by the Peshwa Baji Rao I had been cast aside by his son and successor Balaji Baji Rao in favour of a purely Maharastrian ideal. In practical terms this proved to be a state whose existence depended on the ability of its sons to impose their authority and their right to chauth ⁵ on as many neighbouring states as strength and determination made possible. Maratha authority and chauth were very polite expressions for what Prithvinarayan Shah was to learn was little short of rapine of the territories the Marathas invaded. Surely the first Maratha invasion of Bengal that was in progress when Prithvinarayan Shah reached Banaras was this. It is doubtful if there was a day during his stay in Banaras when he did not hear this invasion discussed and condemned, and we can be sure he followed the Maratha exploits with interest. It was not merely the fact that the Marathas had dared to invade the Bengal subah, nor that they had successfully evaded Alivardi Khan's efforts to bring them to a pitched and final battle that would have aroused his interest. Far more significant to the hill raja must have been the endless stories of wanton cruelty, outright greed, and unbelievable unconcern for the productivity of the land. And he must have reacted sharply to the Marathas' contempt for the economy and total disregard for the welfare of the peasants who were overrun in the course of the nine-month Maratha raid ⁶.

When Bhaskar Ram and the Marathas were finally driven out of Bengal in December 1742, Prithvinarayan Shah must also have followed with the most intense interest the accounts that reached Banaras of Subahdar Safdar Jung of Avadh's invasion of Bihar (Bihar was at that time an appanage of the Bengal subah). Avadh was a subah of the empire. Bengal was a subah of the same empire. And here were the two, bickering with one another in this most dangerous way, while on the southern fringes of their territories the Marathas were preparing a second invasion. Surely this was the ultimate criticism of the Mughul system of rule that would allow mere governors to assume the right to enrich their own territories at the expense of another part of the empire, while the empire itself faced such manifest danger. This lack of control, the fragmenting tendency of the empire, and the power of the subahdars to do their will regardless of the emperor's wishes must have made a profound impression on him.

If, however, Prithvinarayan Shah found this aspect of Indian affairs surprising, he could have found the sequel to the first Maratha invasion of Bengal nothing short of astounding. In February 1743, just one month prior to Prithvinarayan's departure from Banaras, Raghuji Bhonsle led a second Maratha invasion into the Bengal subah. Raghuji fully intended on this raid to collect chauth from Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Emperor Muhammad Shah had promised the right to collect chauth in this area to the Maratha Chhatrapati Shahu, and Shahu had in turn assigned this right to Raghuji 7. But the Delhi emperor had meanwhile been thoroughly dismayed at the havoc created in Bengal by the Maratha invasion of 1742. In a desperate attempt to control Raghuji and spare the ravaged province, he called on the Maratha Peshwa to protect the Bengal subah. And so it was that Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao came north, leading a band of Maratha warriors, to drive out another Maratha general and his band of Maratha warriors 8. Now surely here was a situation that must have caused the young Prithvinarayan Shah to ask many questions about the nature of the Maratha state. He would have been told that Raghuji Bhonsle was an important jagirdar in the Maratha nation, and that his jagir was in Berar. Prithvinarayan Shah would have further learned that the Marathas regularly assigned jagirs on a permanent basis, making them hereditary and granting the jagirdar almost unlimited powers to expand his territories and to raid neighbouring territories as long as he directed his efforts away from the territories and poaching grounds of his co-jagirdars 9. He would also have learned that one reason for this endless pillaging, plundering, and imposing of chauth was the fact that the Maratha economy was vastly wasteful, that the Chhatrapati and the Peshwa seemed always in serious need of money. Here indeed was abundant food for thought for the young hill raja. Additional food for thought would have been provided Prithvinarayan Shah as soon as he asked the obvious question, 'Why doesn't the Chhatrapati or the Peshwa merely order Raghuji back or at least give him strict instructions as to what should be done in Bengal?' The very inability of the ruler or his prime minister to exercise effective command over the Maratha armies exposed for Prithvinarayan Shah more clearly than any analysis the weakness of the Maratha state. If one cannot control one's armies, it is futile to speak about nation-building. Armies put power into the hands of their commanders, and unless some method of controlling those commanders is built into the system of rule, their armies become agents of disunity and disruption.

We might further ask ourselves at this stage, 'Did Prithvinarayan Shah see while he was at Banaras evidence of the growth of British power?' Such information surely would have been significant in the light of later events. Some Nepali historians have answered in the affirmative. But one wonders. . . One wonders what he might have seen. At this time Alivardi Khan was laying a heavy hand on the East India Company in Bengal, even to the point of demanding contributions in cash from them to help defray the cost of defending the Bengal subah against the Marathas. The

Maratha raids had totally disrupted the Company's trade so that the British were hard-pressed to raise money for the next year's investment and were forced to borrow from the Jagat Seths to pay the forced contribution that Alivardi demanded 10. Militarily they were so weak that to protect Calcutta at the time of the second Maratha invasion they raised a militia of the inhabitants of the town and loaned money to the local merchants to dig a trench round the town (the well-known Maratha ditch of Calcutta) 11. British factors seem never to have been in serious personal danger, but their factories were not proof against Maratha looting, and goods once lost to the Marathas in this way were never regained 12. There was, apparently, no sign of the future power of the Company, unless we consider it a hint of things to come that many Indians fled to Calcutta to seek shelter and protection with the Company during the time of the Maratha incursions. If, however, Prithvinarayan Shah was able to deduce from this any danger of a British ascendancy in India, he would have had to be blessed not only with great vision but some sort of second sight. To see that the Company was strongly positioned and intended to hold their position regardless of the Marathas could easily have been done. But to put any greater interpretation on their actions was, I think, beyond the power of any observer in India at that time. There simply was not sufficient evidence for such a conclusion.

2. Output

When Prithvinarayan Shah returned from Banaras to Gorkha in March 1743, he brought with him ideas that were to exercise a profound influence on his own future campaigns and his rule in Nepal. What he did not bring back from Banaras was any pronounced fear of the British. He neither feared them nor their intentions. In their present situation the British were too weak to be significant in terms of Nepal, and it was far too early for their intentions to begin to manifest themselves. And in this Prithvinarayan Shah was, I think, extremely fortunate. The ideas he brought back with him were positive, and his use of these ideas made it possible for him to structure a solidly impressive state that was to outlast not only the tottering Mughul empire and the surging Maratha power but even the British empire in India that in time supplanted both Mughul and Maratha as paramount power in the subcontinent. Today Mughuls, the Maratha nation, and the British empire in India are all memories. But Prithvinarayan Shah's work remains, vigorous, strong, and independent. I strongly doubt that any of this would have been possible if British power had so impressed Prithvinarayan Shah while he was in Banaras that his reactions became the negative reactions of fear. As it was, he was able to study and learn, to reflect and project the kind of state that would be viable in a region that presented communications difficulties that were far more taxing than those that confronted the Mughuls, challenges to central rule more formidable than those facing the Mughuls, challenges to central rule more formidable than

those facing the Marathas, and problems of balance in trade and agriculture that were far more demanding than any the British solved in their days of power in India.

What were some of these conclusions that Prithvinarayan Shah reached on the basis of his Banaras experience in 1742-3?

1. The future of the state depends on a smooth succession to the throne. Nothing must be done to encourage any of the collaterals of the royal family to assume that they have a right to a direct share in the king's rule during his lifetime or that they have any hope of succeeding him after his death.
2. Poor communications can only be overcome by the strictest discipline both in the army and among local representatives of government.
3. The surest way to destroy this discipline is to grant jagirs for life either to military or civil authorities or to make military or civil positions hereditary.
4. Wanton destruction of property during a campaign must necessarily impoverish the victor as well as the defeated. War is fought against opposing armies, not against the land.
5. The strength of the state rests on two correlative ideas: the king must rule--and in doing so he must have total control of his armies; and the king's true wealth lies in his people--not in lands, not in gold, but in his people.
6. No power can exist for long in the Indo-Gangetic plain without being securely anchored either in the hills to the north or in the Deccan to the south. And the Deccan has great defensive strength.

It takes very little knowledge of Prithvinarayan Shah as he is revealed in his Dibya Upadesh ¹³ to appreciate how richly these ideas matured in his mind and became norms for government in Nepal after his conquest of Kathmandu Valley, Makwanpur, Bijayapur and Chaudandi. They have, in fact, become the measuring rod against which successors to his throne have judged their performances ever since.

Had Prithvinarayan Shah enjoyed the vantage point of history or had he been able to study the internal workings of the East India Company in the winter of 1742-3, he would, of course, have had more than sufficient reason for entertaining deep suspicions and fear of the Company as early as 1743. But there is no historical basis for assuming that such knowledge was even remotely

possible at that time. Here one must be acutely aware of the 'tyranny of time'. There exists not only the danger that we will assume as taking place in 1743 events that actually transpired much later, but also the danger that we will assume that the Company itself was different only in size and power and opportunity from what it was to become by the time of Prithvinarayan Shah's death in 1775. And this would be a serious mistake. It is true that the Company was there. It is also true that the stimuli were already active that would in due time prompt those reactions from the Company that would lead it to power. But the Company's reactions were too embryonic in 1743 for Prithvinarayan Shah to have detected them. We must realize that the Company's growth in India was an evolutionary growth, with the drive for security forming its inner logic and the collapse of Mughul authority forming the challenge that forced the Company to grow or to wither. This statement, of course, requires clarification, which I shall try to supply here.

B. The East India Company

The trading company that came to be known as the East India Company had a long history, a complicated history, and a complex history ¹⁴. As a trading company that became a political power, its growth was evolutionary. This evolution of the Company from trade to the assumption of almost complete political control of India is not something that can be explained by the casual statement of a few causes of its growth. Nor can we conceptualize the stages of this growth by the simple description of the events that led up to and away from certain major battles in the history of India, though this, of course, is the way the Company's growth is usually charted. If we seriously wish to understand what really lay behind the metamorphosis of the Company into a political power we must make a concerted effort to get inside the Company's 'skin'; we must try to see it functioning as a trading company faced with real and concrete problems. Only then is it possible to understand the thrust of the Company at a time when India was particularly vulnerable, and only then can we understand the quality of the potential threat that the Company posed towards the nascent kingdom of Nepal.

1. An Evolutionary Company

Let us first realize that the Company began as a London-based joint trading company, which was later converted into a stock company. As a London-based company, its first problem was to attract in London itself capital with which to carry out its functions. Initially a group of merchants shared the risks involved in each voyage and shared equally in the resultant profit or loss. As time went on and the Company developed, it was reorganized into a stock company in which many investors, not necessarily merchants, placed their money. Thus, the possibilities for profit in the Company

were expanded. Profit could be gained not only from the direct sale of goods brought back to Europe from India and the East but also from the manipulation of shares of stock on the London market. A series of successful voyages meant higher profits in trade for the Company, higher dividends for share-holders, and a higher premium on the shares themselves. A series of misfortunes meant a loss to the Company, no dividends for the share-holders, and a depreciation below par value of the shares. Share-holders consequently sold off their shares even at a loss to avoid still greater losses as the shares continued to drop in value. Of course, if capital were driven away from the Company in this way, the Company would soon be unable to function for want of sufficient capital to procure additional goods in India and the East.

Misfortune could strike the Company in any of a number of ways. The most prominent of these were loss at sea or failure of the Company's agents in India to acquire at a suitable rate goods that could be sold readily in the European market. The danger of loss at sea, of course, emphasised the importance of naval power in relation to the eastern trade. The Company's merchantmen had to be protected not only from the danger of pirates but also from the raids of other European fleets in the war-torn years during which the Company grew. Britain's emergence of a major naval power in the eighteenth century and its naval dominance in the nineteenth thus became strong factors in the evolution of the East India Company itself. Britain's naval strength gave the Company's merchantmen the essential guarantee of a safe and untrammelled passage that was so critical to the success of the East India Company's long-range trading ventures.

Not less important was the security of the Company's trading establishment in India. Without a secure base in India for the acquisition of trade goods there was constant danger of the disruption in the whole trade pattern. This need for security for the trading establishment in India explains the Company's pre-occupation with negotiations, treaties, and firman¹⁵. The Company's directors were not concerned merely with the possibility of trade. It was the security of trade that obsessed them. For them the legal right to trade acquired from the legitimate authorities in India was the surest way to guarantee that security of trade. This need for security, as we have seen, was based on the very nature of their trading company. Only a secure trade could give that promise of steady profits that was essential to attract capital. Steady profits and capital growth are twin features of any successful capitalistic enterprise, which is precisely what the East India Company was.

The Company's desire for a legal basis for their Indian trade had a very important corollary. Once the Company received the necessary grants from the Mughul rulers for carrying on their trade on a regular basis, the next most pressing problem was the

physical protection of their trading establishments; protection not only from marauding forces of Indians but also from possible attack from their European competitors, the Dutch and the French. Such security from physical attack meant arms, fortifications, and a certain amount of military strength ¹⁶.

Security thus became, from first to last, one of the major concerns of the Company's officers. Security of trade, security of transport, and security of investment.

Company officials always spoke about their factories, aurungs, etc. in India as their investment. In many cases money was advanced to local agents against the supply of finished goods at a future date. Not only the actual money invested in the Indian trade but also raw materials, semi-finished articles, and the final product itself all represented the Company's investment in one form or another. Once money had been advanced, disturbances in the countryside, natural calamity, or even the intervention of agents from another trading company could endanger that investment. The Company's agents had to supervise the whole process of manufacture and marketing in order to protect the Company's investment. Loss of investment meant loss of profits and ultimately loss of capital.

This concern for maximizing the return on its investment led the Company to adopt very rigid and even cruel attitudes towards the Indian craftsmen who produced the trade goods and also towards the Company's own lower level servants. Craftsmen were grossly underpaid and so were the lower ranks of the Company's own employees ¹⁷. The craftsmen initially had the right, of course, to trade with agents of another company. But in time the Company came to exercise more and more strict control so that they held a real monopoly on the products of the craftsmen in certain areas. Craftsmen were thus forced to work and sell at the Company's prices or not at all.

The Company's employees were, in a way, more fortunate. It is true that they were underpaid, but they could, if they could scrape together a little capital, carry on trade for their own profit along side of their official duties for the Company. Though the Company's directors tried frequently to prevent this private trade, the Company's officers in India often winked at it simply because they were well aware of the inadequacy of the wages paid to these lower level employees of the Company and because they indulged in the same practices themselves in order to amass their own private fortunes.

This practice eased the pinch of the Company's policies as far as the Company's own employees were concerned, but it added further burdens to the local Indian population. It is quite obvious that no private trade of the Company's servants could be overseas trade. This would be an infringement on the Company's

monopoly and would also require a whole network of agents in Europe to sell off the goods thus privately acquired. In consequence, the private trade of the Company's servants was inland trade, carried on in competition with Indian merchants. Since the Company's agents arrogated to themselves the privileges officially conferred by grants and firmans on the Company itself, they were exempt from many duties normally paid on trade in India and could therefore undersell the local merchants 18. When they used the force that the Company represented to cover their own private transactions, they could frequently buy at lower rates and force sales to the detriment of Indian trade. The local population had no protection against this high-handed misuse of privilege except such as their own rulers could give them by insisting on a strict adherence to the terms of the grants given. But this was a difficult process since it was extremely difficult to prove that an agent of the Company was acting at any given time in his private rather than his official capacity. Rulers like Alivardi Khan were able to control it to a degree, but in the collapse of authority that followed the death of Alivardi, this practice assumed greater and greater proportions 19. After the battle of Buxar in 1764 it became totally uncontrolled until Warren Hastings succeeded in introducing some regulation in the name of the Company 20.

The practice we have been discussing was, of course, illegal. But what exactly did this term illegal mean in eighteenth century India as far as an English merchant was concerned? Did British law cover his actions--thousands of mile outside of territorial England? Indian law, of course, was either Muslim or Hindu, neither of which made provisions for Europeans. The Company was therefore forced to seek from the British crown the powers to legislate for their servants in India and to establish sanctions for laws that were made 21. Once this process began, the body of law, the method of applying it, and the judicial system required to extend legal redress necessarily developed in its wake. The introduction of laws, courts, legal proceedings, and, of course, a body competent to make those laws gave to the Company very early in its growth an almost governmental structure. This was initially confined to the government of British subjects, but eventually had to be expanded to include all who lived and worked inside the Company's concessions.

The step from these early beginnings to the establishment of Company rule in India was a natural one and was easily made after the Company stepped forth as Diwan in 1772. The introduction of British parliamentary authority into the Indian scene was less the result of parliament's desire to control India than a desire to control the Company itself, which had assumed impressive stature in England and had sufficient financial power and leadership to exercise a very influential--sometimes detrimental--role both in British financial circles and in parliament itself 22. The

point I am trying to stress here, however, is not the step-by-step development of British rule in India. This, of course, was manifest as time went on. Rather, the point I want to make here is that much of this growth was the natural development of forces contained within the Company itself and brought into play by the Company's struggle for security for its investment in the context of the deterioration of authority in Mughul India. The abuses of power, the opportunism, and the flagrant disregard for the directives sent out by the Court in London to control its agents in India are already a matter of record 23.

Because these forces I have been describing were of the very nature of the Company, they were present and they were active at the time when Prithvinarayan Shah was in Banaras in 1742-3. I do not think, however, that there was sufficient evidence at that time for Prithvinarayan Shah to have assessed the strength of these forces precisely because the collapse of Mughul authority had not proceeded far enough by that date. Vestiges of Mughul strength were still to be found in certain semi-independent subahs, particularly in Bengal. Alivardi Khan was still determined to protect and encourage foreign trade, and he still possessed the means to impose peace on the land or to buy security from recurrent Maratha raids. It was the final collapse of Mughul authority with the death of Alivardi Khan in 1756 that unleashed the forces inherent in the Company's very structure. Consequently, when Prithvinarayan Shah left Banaras in March 1743 I do not think he could have been unduly concerned about the presence of the British in India. At this time the Company was still largely an unknown quantity--as was Prithvinarayan Shah himself. Much time and a great many battles would have to be fought before Nepal and the Company came face to face as rivals and eventually as opponents.

2. The Transition

In 1748 the Company's Court of Directors in London ordered that the fortifications of Calcutta be strengthened 24. The work was begun, but Alivardi Khan ordered it stopped, insisting 'You are merchants, what need have you of fortifications?' 25 And Alivardi Khan was strong enough to enforce his order. But Alivardi's health declined, and in 1753 he was already suffering from what was to be his last illness. During his illness the Company quietly resumed work on their fortifications. At the time of Alivardi's death the work was progressing rapidly. Alivardi Khan's successor, his grandson Siraj-ud-daulah, saw in the Company's activity a threat to his rule. He swept over these fortifications in 1756 to take Calcutta, and the Company experienced a direct challenge to their trading establishment and investment in Bengal. The British were, of course, not nearly as weak as Siraj-ud-daulah's easy victory seemed to indicate. Their attention had been temporarily diverted to the Carnatic in South India, where they learned, among other things, the interesting fact that a few British troops thrown

into either side of a contest between local aspirants to power was often enough to turn the tide of victory and to win for themselves the lion's share of the prize. In 1757, however, the British came storming back into Calcutta. Once this base was secured they turned their new-found knowledge to the task of securing their position against any further whims to power by Siraj-ud-daulah. The story of Plassey; the defeat, capture, and execution of Siraj-ud-daulah; and the installation of Mir Jafar as nawab of Bengal are all familiar to students of history. Equally familiar is the account of the eventual ouster of Mir Jafar and the battle of Ruxar which gave the British a position of supreme power in North India. What perhaps is not so familiar is the relatively small number of troops the Company committed to these battles that were to prove so fateful for India.

In 1751 the regular military establishment of the Company in Calcutta probably consisted of five companies of infantry and one company of artillery 26. Six years later at Plassey the British army consisted of 1,000 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys 27. By November of that same year, however, disease and debauchery had reduced this number to 450 Europeans and 1,250 sepoys. Fresh recruits were received, but in October 1758, 500 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys were sent to the Northern Circars, south of Calcutta. This reduced the Company's forces in Calcutta to 420 European infantry, 102 artillery, and 2,000 sepoys 28. When Clive joined Mir Qasim in 1758 to help the nawab put down a mutiny, he had with him 500 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys 29. In December of that same year the Company's officers in Calcutta were pleading with the Court of Directors to grant them a force of 2,000 European troops to man the fortifications in Calcutta 30. Towards the end of 1759 there was still an army of only 1,200 Europeans and 7,500 sepoys in the Bengal presidency 31. Five years later, in June 1764, when Major Adams took the field against Mir Qasim at Buxar, he had with him about 1,100 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys 32. In September of the same year the officers of the Company in Calcutta indicated in a letter to Court that of the 2,600 European soldiers they were authorized to have in Bengal they had in fact only about 1,000 33.

In time, of course, these numbers would be considerably augmented, but before there could be any substantial increase some method of financing a larger army would have to be agreed upon. As long as the Company financed its own army, each soldier in the Company's pay reduced profits from trade by just that much. This problem was solved in due time by having local rulers such as the nawab finance a part of the army. We must not think, however, that this led to a dramatic increase in the size of the regular military establishment. In March 1767, for example, the Court decided to authorize an increase in their military forces. The army in Bengal was to consist of three regiments of two battalions each, or a total of 3,165 men, including both officers and ranks. To this number should be added artillery personnel to the

number of 446. But, in view of this increase in the European military establishment, the Court at the same time recommended a reduction in the number of brigade sepoy from 18,000 to 15,000 34.

This last series of figures is of particular interest, because these norms were set in a letter dispatched from London in 1768 and reaching India approximately a year later. This is about eighteen months after the first clash between Gorkhali and Company troops. The Company's European army at the time of Hariharpur, then, must have been less than 3,000 men. During the same period Prithvinarayan Shah's army numbered a minimum of 1200 men. This figure was augmented in times of stress such as that at Hariharpur by the addition of peasants pressed into military service on a jhara basis 35. When we take into account the fact that the Company's forces were constantly employed in military action to strengthen the Company's hold on North India as well as South India, the difference between Prithvinarayan Shah's military force and the Bengal army was even less significant 36.

3. The First Clash--1767

Between 1743, when Prithvinarayan Shah left Banaras, and 1767, when the Gorkhalis and the Company's troops clashed for the first time, considerable changes had taken place in India, and it is certain that Prithvinarayan Shah was aware of them. The Calcutta trading establishment of 1743 had become the king-maker of the north and the only effective power in the Gangetic plain. The Company's military tactics and the effectiveness of their artillery had proved to be more valuable in battle than battalions of sepoy. It had become a dangerous force because one tended to underestimate it. All this Prithvinarayan Shah realised. There is no indication, however, that he changed his plans at all in the light of this knowledge, which suggests that he did not consider the Company itself as a serious threat to his own position.

In April 1767 we find Prithvinarayan writing to both Rumbold in Patna and Golding in Bettiah 37. This was approximately the same time that Jaya Prakash Malla's vakils Muktan Unda and Faqir Ramdoss approached Golding to solicit British aid in repelling the Gorkhali attack on the Newar kingdoms. Though these letters have not been preserved, we know from the comments Golding and Rumbold made about them that Prithvinarayan Shah was well aware of Jaya Prakash's intentions a full six months before the actual British attempt to send military aid to Jaya Prakash Malla and that these letters represent the steps Prithvinarayan took to forestall British intervention. When this effort failed, as it did, Prithvinarayan Shah made no move to interrupt his campaign in Kathmandu Valley. There was no massing of Gorkhali troops at a position south of the Valley in anticipation of the British move into the hills, and that the Gorkhali troops moved out overnight to meet this attack 38. A letter of Prithvinarayan Shah himself to Ram

Krishna Kunwar in early October 1767 reveals Prithvinarayan Shah as being very much in control of the situation and very sure of the outcome ³⁹. The battle was fought on 10 October, and the results were exactly as Prithvinarayan Shah's letter had indicated that they would be.

In retrospect, we see in this first clash between the Gorkhalis and the British indications of Prithvinarayan Shah's own awareness of British power, a reluctance to interrupt his own campaign to meet their challenge, but no particular fear of the outcome. If we consider a period some six years later, when Prithvinarayan Shah delivered the discourses that have been preserved for us as the Dibya Upadesh, we find him referring to this invasion in terms that make it quite clear that his concern lay less with the British army moving into the hills than with those who had summoned British military aid ⁴⁰. Perhaps this is an indicator for our study of his relations with the Company in the years between 1767 and 1775.

4. Nepal-Company Relations--1769-75

Nepal-Company relations in the years that followed Kinloch's unsuccessful attempt to come to the aid of the beleaguered Newar kings of the Valley reflect both the unsettled state of affairs within the Company and the confusion existing among the minor hill rajas as a result of the growth of Gorkhali power. It is a known fact that in the first flush of their victory over the Mughuls at Buxar the servants of the Company got completely out of hand. They abused their new immunity from control, used their share of the victory spoils as capital for a heavy increase of private trade, and in general tried their best to improve their own personal fortunes at the expense of the Company and the people of North India. The increase in personal remittances through the Company to London was so sharp that it caused a major financial crisis in the Company that led directly to parliamentary intervention in the Company's affairs ⁴¹. At the same time the unrest that swept the Himalayan states affected the Tarai areas, and those districts on the northern border of the Bengal subah that came into contact with the Nepal Tarai experienced a sharp increase in border raids. The atmosphere in both Bengal and the Nepal Tarai in the period we are discussing was thus one of general confusion.

Naturally the documents of this period reflect this confusion. Records of individual events are inadequate to form a fair picture of what was actually happening, and even the vague picture the records do present is further distorted by the fact that few Nepali documents have come to light that would allow us to attempt a balanced reconstruction on the basis of combined Nepali and British sources. The Company's records, taken alone, seem to indicate that the Company had no clear policy regarding the northern

districts of Bengal and the Nepal Tarai for much of this period. The authorities apparently considered each complaint or each proposal to interfere in the hills on its own merit. The main criteria seem to have been the expense involved for the Company and the profit the proposition offered.

With no clear indications of policy to guide us we are thrown on the mercy of the records, and this creates a problem in methodology. A detailed survey of the documents in a study such as this will leave us with an utterly confused picture. Unrecognizable place names; distorted titles given to petitioners; confusing geographical data; and inadequate background material all conspire to obscure the real significance of the petition. It is better, I think, for our purposes to avoid detail and to concentrate on a general over-view in order to try to discern the trends in British policy. This may not be as intellectually satisfying as a detailed study might be, but in the present case it will probably give us a more coherent picture.

a. De Facto Acceptance of Prithvinarayan Shah

The most basic question to ask about this period of Nepal-Company relations is whether the British accepted the fact of Prithvinarayan Shah's conquest of Kathmandu Valley or were they still giving serious thought to the possibility of unseating him and restoring the Mallas to power. It is clear that until the Company actually accepted the fact that Prithvinarayan Shah and the Gorkhalis were in power in Kathmandu to stay, the Company would always constitute a threat to Nepal, whether the rulers of Nepal recognized this threat or not. The records tell a very interesting story.

In October 1769 James Logan, who had served as surgeon with Kinloch's amateurish expedition to Nepal, submitted a proposal to the governor of Fort William for his consideration ⁴². Logan suggested that since the Court of Directors in London wanted the Company to explore possible avenues for opening up trade with Tibet an exploration should be made through Nepal for routes for this trade ⁴³. He argued, however, that Prithvinarayan Shah would never be acceptable to the Dalai Lama and therefore any successful attempt to open the Tibet trade through Nepal should include an effort to unseat Prithvinarayan Shah. If such an attempt were made, it should be made very soon, while Jaya Prakash Malla was still there to cooperate and his followers could be pressed into service. In support of this argument he indicated that failure to support the Mallas at this time would be damaging to the Company's reputation and that in the event of the Company's intervention the Company could rely on many hill rajas who were unhappy with the turn events had taken in Kathmandu.

The Board in Calcutta accepted Logan's proposal, though not without scruple. They wrote to the Court in London that they were sending Logan to Nepal in an effort to explore new avenues of trade with Tibet, in answer to the Court's directive, but said nothing about the other aspects of Logan's mission 44. However, to Logan himself they gave not only two letters directed to Prithvinarayan Shah on the subject of increased Tibetan trade but also detailed instructions as to just what Logan should tell Jaya Prakash when they met. Logan was also provided with two letters to Karna Sen of Chaudandi, who had earlier offered support to Kinloch, and letters to five other hill rajahs. The implication was clear that the Board supported Logan's proposal to unseat Prithvinarayan Shah and sent him equipped with instructions and official letters that would help him form a conspiracy against the Gorkhali ruler. At the same time, Logan's official reason for going into Nepal was to be his effort to promote trade with the cooperation of Prithvinarayan Shah 45.

The Logan mission failed. Logan completely disappears from the records, and we have no indication of what happened to Logan himself. But his mission has some significance. Several points should be mentioned in connection with it.

1. The initiative was taken by Logan himself. Just what he hoped to gain by this mission, if he succeeded in his objectives, is not at all clear, but it was an age of adventurers and quick fortunes and perhaps he fancied himself as a miniature Clive. Or possibly Logan was still smarting from the defeat of the Kinloch mission, of which he was a member.
2. The extent of the Company's involvement was a few letters. There was no great expenditure, no back-up force, nor any great concern about his success or failure. It was an opportunity that seemed to offer some prospect of reward, and they accepted it for what it was worth.
3. The whole mission was irresponsible. One can only imagine what would have happened had the letters Logan was carrying fallen into Prithvinarayan Shah's hands, a possibility that never seems to have occurred to the Company's officers.
4. The whole mission has about it a tone of amateurishness, of lack of planning, of lack of foresight; in short it has all the marks of a government suffering from lack of direction and lack of policy--the very sort of action one would expect to come from a government passing through the period of uncertainty that the East India Company was in fact passing through at this time.

5. The significance of the Logan mission is precisely this, that it shows quite clearly that the Company had not yet arrived at a viable and stable policy towards Nepal.

There was at this time another proposal made to unseat Prithvinarayan Shah that should be mentioned here because it tends towards the same conclusion. Adbhut Singh, the son of Ranjit Malla, was in Banaras. Friends of his suggested to the British that they assist Adbhut Singh to regain the throne his father had lost in Nepal. There is scant attention given to this proposal in the records, though it is mentioned and it did have some supporters in government ⁴⁶. But the support was half-hearted and non-committal. Historians will see in the Company's reaction to the Adbhut Singh proposal as well as the Logan mission that twilight zone in international affairs that lies between opposition and recognition and leads unobtrusively to de facto recognition.

b. The Settlement of the Tatar Parganas--1771

When Prithvinarayan Shah conquered Makwanpur in 1762 he also assumed possession of the Makwanpur Tarai. We should remember that the Makwanpur Tarai was not an outright possession of the raja of Makwanpur, but was held as a zamindari from the Tirhut sarkar. When Kinloch's mission to Nepal failed in 1767, he soothed his battered ego by occupying much of this territory. He had thought that the land would yield an income neighbouring on one lakh of rupees a year and thus serve to offset the losses his command had sustained. In actuality the tract proved in time to yield little over twenty thousand rupees. This income was not sufficient to warrant the military force that occupied the territory, and Kinloch's troops were withdrawn from most parts of the area. The Gorkhalis immediately repossessed themselves of the tract. Quite naturally the Company's agents in Champaran and Purnea complained about this. They argued that even though the Tatar parganas themselves had not proved fiscally worth garrisoning, the mere possession of them had helped to restore order in the districts south and west of them ⁴⁷. In the face of this opposition Prithvinarayan Shah immediately set about establishing his claim to the territories and dispatched Dinanath Upadhyaya as his vakil to negotiate. Prithvinarayan Shah successfully argued that as long as he continued to pay the prescribed rent for the lands there was no reason why he should not be allowed to continue to farm them. The Board in Calcutta found on investigation that his point was well taken and agreed to his proposal. They also frankly admitted in their discussion that they were not prepared to pay the costs that an expedition against Prithvinarayan Shah would cost them, because they were quite aware that he would not give up these territories without a fight. They accepted his proposal, demanding the recognized annual payment of 12,500 rupees in elephants, the value to be reckoned according to the accepted practice in that region ⁴⁸.

c. The Period of Correspondence

Between May 1773 and November 1774 Prithvinarayan Shah sent four separate letters to the governor of Fort William. All of these were prompted by his intentions to expand into the eastern Tarai in a manner that would not excite British fears. He had no intention of provoking a clash with British arms. His dealings with them in the Tatar parganas negotiations had convinced him that the Company was primarily concerned with stability in their own northern territories and that if he could persuade them that his intentions posed no threat to the peace and order of their own territories he would need have no fears of their intervention. He was fortunate in two respects. The Board in Calcutta had already looked into the nature of the disputes going on in Chaudandi, which was one of the two kingdoms Prithvinarayan Shah intended to acquire, and had decided that the Company would not interfere unless their own interests were threatened. Also, Warren Hastings arrived in Calcutta during this period. Warren Hastings was the first governor to realize that the Company's interests would be better served by attempting to cooperate with the Nepal government rather than by opposing it.

Nevertheless, it was good political sense that prompted Prithvinarayan Shah to keep the Company's government informed of his intentions. Men like Raja Partab Singh, Raja Ajit Singh, and the zamindar of Bajitpur had been in touch with the Calcutta authorities, painting the bleakest of pictures of Prithvinarayan Shah's government and encouraging the Company to cooperate with them in overthrowing him. Prithvinarayan's first letter of this series, written in May 1773, stated clearly his intentions in regard to Bijayapur and requested the Company not to intervene, since it was an internal affair. He explained that Buddhakarna Rai, the chautariya of Bijayapur, had brought about the murder of Raja Kamdatta Sen, who was closely related to Prithvinarayan Shah by marriage. His invasion of Bijayapur was thus a legitimate, punitive expedition. He proposed to assume control of the Bijayapur jagirs on the basis of his relationship with Kamdatta Sen and presented the Company with his patta for those jagirs, duly signed by the naib of Azimabad (Patna). He asked the Company as the legal successors of the Azimabad government to sign these jagirs over to him. And, of course, he requested that the Company not intervene in this personal affair 49.

The governor replied to Prithvinarayan Shah's first letter, complaining of the poor-reliability of Prithvinarayan's vakils and asking him to send reliable ones. He also requested Prithvinarayan's help in stopping the incursions of sanyasis into Bengal, since it appeared that they moved through the Nepal Tarai to enter the subah. Prithvinarayan Shah replied immediately sending Dinanath Upadhyaya as his vakil to the governor, now Warren Hastings. He agreed to cooperate in the settlement of the sanyasi problem,

but pointed out that the route they took actually passed south of Nepali territory and thus his action against them would require moving further south into the Company's territories. Which, of course, he was willing to do.

The taking of Bijayapur once again alarmed the hill rajas, and again there was a spate of letters to the governor general asking the Company's assistance against Prithvinarayan Shah. The governor general sent a protest to the Nepal raja, to which Prithvinarayan Shah replied by requesting the governor general not to be prejudiced against him by the misstatements of his enemies. He also renewed his offer to pay the regular assessment on the jagirs he had taken over. The governor general was apparently satisfied by this reply but wrote that the question of assessments would have to be further discussed and that a yakil should be sent to Malda to Mr. Henschman for this purpose. But this letter was sent only on 19 January 1775, more than a week after Prithvinarayan Shah's death at Devi Ghat.

d. Summary

Brief as this period was between the Kinloch expedition and Prithvinarayan Shah's death, or, for that matter, between Buxar and the time of Prithvinarayan Shah's death, the main lines of the debate over the Company's policy towards Nepal had already taken shape. The first of these was enunciated by Mr. Ducarel in a letter to Mr. Becher in April 1770 ⁵⁰. He pointed out that if Morang in the Nepal Tarai were disturbed, the disturbance would carry over into the Company's territories in Purnea. On the other hand, if a strong government were established in Morang, peasants would be attracted from the Company's territories into Morang, leaving the Purnea zamindars without labour for the land. Both of these possibilities were undesirable. To counteract them, he proposed to move forces into Morang, station sepoys in several places to control incursions from the hills, and influence the policies of the hill governments by controlling the Tarai. This argument was to resurface many times, but the main thrust of it always remained the same: control the hills by controlling the Tarai.

Warren Hastings' position was totally opposed to this. The policy he adopted was expressed in a letter written long after Prithvinarayan Shah's death, but it accurately defined the position he had assumed soon after his arrival in Calcutta ⁵¹. The general thrust of his argument was: 'You have peaceful intentions, and we have peaceful intentions. Let bygones be bygones, and let us trade together'. A policy of appeasement for the sake of trade, Warren Hastings' policy governed the Company's relations with Nepal until 1804. After that time, the Ducarel argument of controlling the hills by controlling the Tarai came to the fore and led directly to the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-16.

Neither of these policies was acceptable to Prithvinarayan Shah. He would fight for the Tarai, because the Tarai had always been an important source of revenue to the hills. But even more important, he would keep the British out of the hills, even restricting trade in order to achieve this. He saw the hills as a very strong defense against invasion, and his experience against Mir Qasim and Kinloch had proved that this was true. The strength of that defense was increased in direct proportion to his ability to keep the British ignorant of the easier routes through the hills. From the very first stages of his unification effort he adopted the policy of closing off trails into the hills and settling trusted families in key points along those that were open. Every British trader who came into Nepal would carry away some of the secrets of the hills, and this he was determined to prevent. And his reasoning was flawless. The British position in India was still not terribly secure. There were Indian forces quite capable of mounting a serious attack on them. Bombay and Madras were not important to Prithvinarayan Shah. His concern lay with the British in Bengal, and they would never hold their position on the Gangetic plain without an anchor in the hills, either north or south of the Gangetic plain. The Marathas still held the Deccan strongly. That left the hills of Nepal. He was convinced that the day might well come when the British would try to force their way into the hills in sheer self-defense, and he wanted to make that as difficult for them as possible 52. He had other reasons for restricting trade, many of them quite valid, but the basic reason was his determination to protect the hills and Nepal. In this sense, then, fear of British power in India definitely influenced his policies.

But we must not emphasise this fear too much. For one thing, the British were not strong enough at this time to mount a full-scale attack on Nepal even had they wanted to do so. But also, Prithvinarayan Shah was quite convinced that, given a determined defense of the hills, the British could be an asset. One could negotiate with them; they could be made to see the logic of a position; and they had a fetish for legal forms. Efforts to keep their friendship, within the context of his own defense policies, would pay the Nepalis well. As long as the British were friendly with the government of the new Nepal, there was little danger that they would befriend the rajas of the Nepal Tarai. And that was the eventuality to be avoided, since it was the Nepal Tarai that was the immediate object of his concern. As Nepal grew and increased its strength it had less and less to fear from the Chaubisi Rajas or any other hill rajas. But were any of the Tarai rajas to succeed in gaining an alliance with the British, the whole Gorkhali expansion equation would change. This must be prevented, and the way to prevent it was to keep the British friendly. Assure the British of their security, and their self-interest will keep them out of Nepal. Keep them friendly, and they will not ally themselves with our enemies. Keep them out of the hills, and we are

doubly safe 53. This, it seems to me, was Prithvinarayan Shah's attitude towards the British. It was positive; it was workable; and it left Nepal free to expand at will in the hills and the Nepal Tarai.

Two other lessons Prithvinarayan Shah learned in his Banaras days were applied with equal vigour. He adamantly refused to share his rule with his collaterals, even though his own brothers made a strong case for their right to a portion of the new Nepal as an appanage 54. Prithvinarayan Shah decided it was destructive of unity and refused to humour them. His decision, communicated tersely and uncompromisingly, was final. Secondly, all holders of jagirs were subjected to an annual accounting of their stewardship. All jagir owners were subject to annual reappointment, and a regular change of jagirs became a part of the administrative system he set up 55. In their own way, these reactions to what he had learned of the weaknesses in both the Mughul and Maratha systems were to have a more profound effect on the unification of Nepal than Prithvinarayan's reaction to the growth of British power in India. Unity is essentially an internal achievement, and any unity structured on reaction to external forces is at best precarious.

B. Pratap Singh Shah and the Regency Period

Prithvinarayan Shah died in January 1775. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Pratap Singh Shah, who ruled for about two and a half years before his premature death in November 1777. Pratap Singh Shah was then succeeded by Rana Bahadur Shah, his two-and-a-half year old son. This necessitated a long regency period during which Rajendra Laxmi and Bahadur Shah served as regents. Rana Bahadur assumed control of the Government in 1795, a few years after he had reached his majority, and ruled until 1799, when he abdicated in favour of his own infant son Girbanayuddha Bikram Shah. It is convenient for the purposes of this study to consider this period as a unit, even though three separate successors to the throne and two regents directed the course of events in Nepal during this time. The period we intend to discuss in this section, then, extends from 1775 to 1799, corresponding to the period from Warren Hastings to Wellesley in India.

1. Changes in Nepal and the Company

In India a vast transformation was taking place. Under Warren Hastings the Company stepped forth as diwan and began to rule directly the states under its control. His vigorous prosecution of the Maratha and Mysore wars broke the back of the Nizam's anti-British coalition in the south and pitted the British against Mysore alone. Cornwallis hammered home the British victory over Mysore, then turned his energies to reform of the Company's administration. Shore continued this work, so that by the time

Wellesley arrived in India the Company's position in India was secure and the Company had an administrative system adequate to exercise effective control over its territories. Government was more centralized. Policies were more clearly defined. And power was becoming less a means of survival and more an instrument of rule. The changes taking place in the Company were gradual, but by the end of this period they would be largely complete.

In Nepal this period is characterized by a steady expansion of the Gorkhali state, so that by the end of this period the area under direct Gorkhali rule and considered part of Nepal stretched from the Teesta in the east to Kumaon in the west. During this period, also, Nepal fought a preliminary war with Tibet and then a major war with China. In terms of Nepal-Company relations, this was the period of Abdul Qadir Khan's mission to Nepal, the Nepal-Company commercial treaty of 1792, and the Kirkpatrick mission of 1793. It was a period, then, of very great expansion in Nepal and of a regularizing and strengthening of the Company's government in India. If we are to find that fear of the British played a role in Nepal's unification, some signs of this fear should become apparent during this period.

2. Pratap Singh Shah

In 1775, at the very beginning of Pratap Singh's reign, Pratap Singh exiled his younger brother Bahadur Shah from Nepal. Bahadur Shah went first to the Chaubisi Rajas, which were at this time still outside the boundaries of the Gorkhali state, and then travelled to Bettiah in Champaran district of Bihar. This exile is important because Bahadur Shah was a very vigorous and intelligent individual, and his presence in the Company's territories provided the British with the classic opening for interference in the internal politics of Nepal. Fortunately we have an extensive correspondence between the court of Kathmandu and Bahadur Shah to guide our interpretation of the events that followed Bahadur Shah's exile ⁵⁶. We know from this correspondence that Bahadur Shah was friendly with both the Capuchins in Champaran district and with the British, and that on at least one occasion he met Warren Hastings. The correspondence reveals not only Pratap Singh's knowledge of these contacts but also his approval of them, thereby indicating that Pratap Singh had no special fear of British intervention on the basis of Bahadur Shah's friendship with them. During this period, also, negotiations with the Company's government for Nepali control of the Bijayapur-Chaudandi Tarai continued and were concluded to the satisfaction of both parties.

3. Rajendra Laxmi

During the regency of Pratap Singh's widow, Rajendra Laxmi, however, a note of concern is injected into the correspondence between the court and Bahadur Shah. The Gorkhali armies in 1780 were

still seriously troubled by the larger states of the Chaubisi Rajas, and the court of Nepal was agitated by the news received from their agents in the Chaubisi territories that the leading rajas had resolved to seek British assistance and had raised money with which to purchase British arms and ammunition. One Kanaknidhi Tiwari had gone to India with two or three thousand rupees to see what could be done to gain British assistance and to make the purchases 57. In late January 1781 a letter was sent to Bahadur Shah in Bettiah informing him of this and asking him to use whatever influence he had with the Company's authorities to prevent this sale and to discourage the British from supplying troops to support the Chaubisi 58.

Two weeks later another letter was written on the same subject, notifying Bahadur Shah that information received in Kathmandu had indicated that Kanaknidhi and his companions had arrived in Patna and then gone on to Calcutta. Bahadur Shah was asked to come to Kathmandu along with the Kathmandu vakil from Patna, or, if his health should prevent such a trip, to give whatever special news he might have on this affair to the vakil and send him immediately 59.

These two letters reflect the same basic concern that Prithvinarayan Shah showed in his correspondence with the Company in 1773 and 1774. The court in Kathmandu was alive to the possibility that one of the hill rajas might succeed in gaining British support for his cause. This suggests the superficial conclusion that the court in Kathmandu was afraid that the hill rajas in alliance with the Company might constitute an insuperable barrier to the attainment of Gorkhali objectives. It also suggests, however, another and deeper concern that the British would agree to 'countenance' a hill raja--to afford him their protection--and once the British were insinuated into hill politics in this way, they might come to exercise a controlling hand in Himalayan affairs. Of the two possibilities, it is to the latter, the desire to keep the British out of Himalayan politics, that I incline. I believe that Prithvinarayan Shah made it very clear both in his personal dealings with the British and in his Dibya Upadesh that British entry into the hills was an evil to be avoided at all costs, so much so that he subordinated all of his trade contacts with India to this exigency. This same concern, the exclusion of the British from regional affairs and disputes, had already appeared in the Peshwa's court at Pune, and I think we have in this correspondence a clear indication that the court of Kathmandu was equally alive to the dangers of British involvement. It is difficult to assess the element of fear in the court's attitudes. This I admit. The court was well aware of the danger of British interposition, and where there is danger there is usually fear. But it seems to me that the basic fear in this instance is less of British power than of Himalayan ignorance. As I see it, the court in Kathmandu was concerned that hill rajas with no great understanding of the state of affairs maintaining in North

India might succeed in convincing an otherwise reluctant governor general that it would be worth his while to send troops to 'protect' a hill raja. Invariably where this happened the troops remained, the precarious balance of power was upset, and in the effort to impose some stability on affairs the British position became permanent. At this point in history the British in themselves posed no great threat to Nepal. Should they be introduced into the hills, however, their very presence would become a catalyst for change in the power structure. Change would be accompanied by profound confusion, and this would spur the British, with their obsession for security, to impose order on the hill peoples. The situation, however, posed a dilemma. How does one keep the British out of someone else's kingdom?

The solution found for this dilemma was the same one that Prithvinarayan Shah had adopted and used with success. Isolate the hill rajas. Do this through friendship with the British. Rely on the British preoccupation for acquiring the legal right to trade to determine their policy. Above all, make no move that would seem to threaten the Company's existing arrangements. It was a realistic assessment of the problem, especially at this period. Despite its vastly increased power and resources, the Company had sufficient problems of its own in India. It was reasonable to believe, and the Nepali vakils continued to insist on it, that the British were willing to live and let live as far as Nepal was concerned; that of themselves they had no great desire to intervene. The circumstances, therefore, called for increased friendship with the Company, but friendship on the same terms as those laid down by Prithvinarayan Shah, friendship without British penetration into the hills even for commercial purposes.

4. Bahadur Shah

One might argue that 'friendship without involvement' was impossible. One could cite the Nepal-Company commercial treaty of 1792 as proof that friendship led directly to a policy of gradually opening doors. Strong support for this position is certainly to be found in the history of that treaty. It was preceded by the usual letters and gifts as well as by the effort to win the friendship of influential Nepalis. The treaty proposal was then made. Influential Nepalis put pressure on the court. And finally the court accepted the treaty ⁶⁰. There is a beautiful simplicity about this argument that commends it, and many of the documents connected with the treaty lend themselves to such an interpretation of events.

I cannot accept such an interpretation, however, because it takes the treaty out of context. It ignores the actual terms of the treaty as well as contemporary developments in western Nepal and in Tibet. I think that any historian who considers the treaty in the context of Nepal's problems at that time will readily agree

that the treaty was a consistent step in Nepal's policy toward the Company and that it definitely was not a question of Bahadur Shah's succumbing to the inherent pressures of his friendship with the British.

In the years between 1788 and 1792 Bahadur Shah had succeeded in putting Nepal in a position that rather staggers the imagination. For one thing, he swept through the western hills of Nepal at bewildering speed and brought Nepal's armies to the Alakananda river west of Kumaon before they paused 61. This in itself constituted a serious danger to Nepal. It is true that Nepal's armies had control of the area. But the control was spread very thin, and it would take years to develop the military strength necessary to hold the conquered territories securely. Administrative problems also abounded. The nature of many of the conquests obliged the regent to develop a completely new aspect of the administration. Where local rajas had accepted Gorkhali rule, Bahadur Shah had allowed them to remain in control of the local government 62. But in order to prevent them from becoming a disruptive force within the country, these local rajas had to be closely supervised and constantly reminded that the centre was ready and willing to depose them the moment they stepped out of line.

At the same time, many of the defeated rajas had taken up residence inside the Company's territories. The more powerful of them turned immediately to the Company and actively sought British alliance and support 63. These men constituted a triple danger. They still commanded the loyalty of at least some of their former subjects. They were also thoroughly familiar with the weaknesses in the hill defenses as well as the strength of the hills. If they were successful in their effort to gain British intervention, Nepal could no longer rely on the secrecy of the hill trails as a factor in the defense of the hills. Far more important, however, than either of these two dangers was the possibility that these deposed rajas might succeed with British support in detaching the Tarai portions of their former kingdoms and bringing these territories under British protection with themselves as zamindars. Without the Tarai the conquest of the hills was barren. Such action on their part would lead directly to the old Ducarel argument that one could control the hills by controlling the Tarai. This was dangerous, because it was true. And this, possibly more than anything else, Bahadur Shah had to avoid.

Also during this same period, the languishing condition of Nepal's Tibetan trade forced Bahadur Shah to intervene directly in Tibetan affairs. Bahadur Shah took the normal precautions of informing the governor general of his intentions before setting his army in motion, asking him not to provide the Tibetans with assistance if the Tibetans approached him for it. His intervention succeeded, at least temporarily, and Bahadur Shah achieved the sort of currency arrangements with Tibet that would facilitate trade. But Bahadur Shah had been badly deceived about the true

state of affairs in Lhasa. Whether because of bad advice or poor evaluation of the advice he received, he had apparently misunderstood Chinese policies in Lhasa, confusing a lack of regular Chinese intervention in Tibetan affairs with the inability of the Chinese to intervene. As a result of this miscalculation, Bahadur Shah suddenly found himself threatened by almost overwhelming Chinese forces. I want to point out here that these forces were already in Tibet preparing for the invasion of Nepal when Abdul Qadir Khan came to Kathmandu to negotiate the treaty ⁶⁴. It has been suggested, and I think rightly so, that Abdul Qadir Khan suggested rather strongly that if the treaty were signed the Company might more readily come to Bahadur Shah's assistance in the event of a full-scale Chinese invasion. Certainly, within a few months of the signing of the treaty, Bahadur Shah requested military assistance from the governor general in a manner that indicates complete confidence that his request would be favourably received. I do not deny that enormous pressures to sign the treaty were exerted on Bahadur Shah. Gajraj Misra himself was one of the principal advocates of the treaty, and Bahadur Shah was deeply indebted to him. But I am insisting that Bahadur Shah also had abundant reason for encouraging British friendship at this particular point in history. He had to balance his tenuous hold on western Nepal with the Chinese threat. And he did it by the least expensive means he had at hand. He accepted the treaty that Duncan had written and Abdul Qadir Khan had brought to Kathmandu.

The price for this continued British friendship was not great. The treaty itself, except for Article Six, indicates nothing very strikingly new in Nepal-Company relations beyond the desire of the Company to have a fixed customs rate for goods taken from India into Nepal and a desire to do away with the practice of charging customs duties at several points along the trail on the same goods. It was a standard treaty already offered to others of the Company's neighbours as a part of Cornwallis' efforts to simplify the administrative structure ⁶⁵. Since no special class of traders is indicated in the treaty, the assumption is that the clauses of the treaty were intended to apply to those who were already carrying on trade between the Company's territories and Nepal. It did not, therefore, introduce British merchants into the hills nor increase the activity of Indian merchants in Nepal. Article Six looks suspiciously like an effort on the part of one of those involved in drawing up the official copies of the treaty to include a concession that the British would find especially attractive. According to the English version of the treaty, goods exported to Nepal and left unsold could then be re-exported to any other country beyond the limits of Nepal, without further payment of duty. This obviously would open the way to the Tibet trade for the Company. They would have only to overload the Nepali market, then reship the unsold goods to Tibet. However, the Nepali and English versions of the wording of the treaty differ essentially in Article Six, and the Nepali version states simply that without payment

of further duties the unsold goods could be shipped back to the original exporting country. The difference in the two versions has never been satisfactorily explained, and we do not know today which of the two versions was actually intended. Apart from this discrepancy, the treaty is a straight-forward attempt to regularize the trade that already existed between Nepal and the Company's territories. Signing, even had it been done under pressure, was thus an act of friendship that fell well within the boundaries set for such a friendship by Prithvinarayan Shah himself.

As I have mentioned earlier, within a very few months after the signing of the commercial treaty with the Company, Bahadur Shah requested military assistance from the governor general. This request was made in the context of China's invasion of Nepal, and the amount of aid requested is a gauge of the seriousness of that invasion. His original request in August 1792 was for ten guns and ten European artillery officers ⁶⁶. This was modified in September by a second request calling for two battalions of Europeans and two battalions of sepoys, complete with military stores and a suitable number of guns ⁶⁷.

The aid was never sent. Lord Cornwallis, pleading his country's close trade connections with China as an excuse, offered instead to send a mediator to help settle the dispute. Kirkpatrick was appointed for this, and Kathmandu was so informed. The war, however, had already been settled before Kirkpatrick set out, and Bahadur Shah made an effort to block Kirkpatrick's coming to Nepal. Kirkpatrick was informed when he reached Azimabad (Patna) that the war was over, that his services would not be needed, and that he should not continue his journey to Nepal ⁶⁸. This order was subsequently and abruptly changed. Bahadur Shah sent two agents to meet Kirkpatrick at Patna, then, in response to their suggestion, asked Kirkpatrick to come to Nepal. On his arrival in Nepal Kirkpatrick was treated with great courtesy and had an audience with the king, but he very soon realized that there was nothing for him to do in Nepal and that his presence was not wanted there. His advances for further development of such contacts were countered by the age-old rejoinder that though Bahadur Shah and many in the court were decidedly sympathetic, the fact was that the time was not suitable for increased British contact with Nepal. Kirkpatrick then returned to India.

I have mentioned these two events because they seem to some historians to indicate that Bahadur Shah's policy was not in line with the policies of his predecessors, and that Bahadur Shah was more a friend of the British than he was of Nepal. 'If Bahadur Shah was so anxious to keep the British out of the hills, why did he request their aid and why did he permit Kirkpatrick to come to the hills when there was no longer any semblance of an excuse for his coming?' This is the sort of argument one hears in accusation of Bahadur Shah. Such a misunderstanding is possible only when these events are taken out of context.

The request for British military aid against the Chinese was made in a moment of crisis, and the very fact that it was made at all indicates the dimensions of the threat that the Chinese invasion represented to Nepal. It was the most serious threat that Nepal had ever known from the north, and as the size of Fu-k'ang-an's operation became known, there was reason to doubt that the Nepali forces would be adequate to repel him. On the eve of the decisive battle of Nuwakot, when Abdul Qadir Khan wrote to Duncan in Banaras describing the atmosphere in Kathmandu, there was desperation in the air ⁶⁹. It was a time when men grabbed at straws and unusual measures were commonplace. And in such an atmosphere the word intervention lost its meaning. The British were called on because policy must always yield to bare survival, and that apparently was what Nepal was fighting for. The Nepali victory at Nuwakot came as a blessed relief from relentless Chinese pressure. But it must also have come as a great surprise to the Nepalis as much as to the Chinese. It was one of those victories that turns night into day and despair into hope. But it could not have been foreseen. I should interject here that those historians who have passed lightly over this moment and credit the Chinese withdrawal solely to Gorkhali willingness to negotiate in order to save Kathmandu have little concept either of the hardships under which the Chinese forces were labouring in their encampment or the strategic importance of Nuwakot. Had the Chinese been able to take Nuwakot and march onwards to Kathmandu Valley, they would most certainly have done so. In Kathmandu there was everything they lacked. There was food. There was safety from the aul fever. There was security for the coming winter. They did not reach Kathmandu because they were turned back by a magnificent eleventh-hour defense by the Gorkhali troops. But the brilliance of the Gorkhali performance in this battle cannot erase the anxiety that preceded it. And it is in this context of anxiety that we must understand Bahadur Shah's call for British help.

The Kirkpatrick mission is very easily explained. Kirkpatrick had been told in plain language that he should not advance further. Bahadur Shah wrote it, and he meant it. The softening of this attitude has nothing at all to do with a change in his thinking. He was told in no uncertain terms by Gajraj Misra that he could not act this way, and that if he did not permit Kirkpatrick to come to Nepal after all his preparations, he, Gajraj Misra, would have nothing further to do with him. Gajraj Misra was not just another Brahman to Bahadur Shah. Gajraj Misra was his guru and the benefactor who, not once, but twice had secured Bahadur Shah's release from confinement. There was no one in Nepal who had the influence over Bahadur Shah that Gajraj Misra had. Knowing this, the impact Gajraj Misra's letter--quoted here from the Calendar of Persian Correspondence summary--had on Bahadur Shah was entirely predictable.

Gajraj Misra to the Raja of Nepal. Acknowledges receipt of the Raja's letter dated 6 Katik (19 October 1792) received by him on 19 Katik (1 November 1792) along with letters addressed to his lordship, Mr. Duncan, and Ali Ibrahim Khan. Mr. Duncan has sent to his lordship the translation of the Raja's letter to the writer along with the Raja's letter to his lordship. The writer was intending to proceed to Nepal but on the receipt of the Raja's letter Mr. Duncan asked the writer to wait till his lordship replied to the Raja's last letter. Says that through his mediation the work has gone on perfectly well and a commercial treaty has been concluded to the satisfaction of both the Governments as a result of which the English have begun to consider the Raja their friend and ally. As such, on the Raja's recent request for their help against the Chinese, Mr. Duncan, at the request of the writer, forwarded the Raja's application to the Council. The English are on good terms with the Chinese but in consideration of the Raja's friendship the Council decided to send a gentleman of rank along with four companies of sepoys. Accordingly the gentleman (Maulavi Abdul Qadir Khan) proceeded to Nepal to negotiate a peace between the Raja and the Chinese emperor. The Company, at considerable expense, had already dispatched this contingent which had even come up to Patna solely for the Raja's welfare when suddenly the Raja's letter saying that as the war was over 'the gentlemen should not put themselves to the trouble' held them up. The use of such an expression is not becoming of the Raja; nor is it becoming to write all that in so abrupt a manner. Even though the Raja had written to the writer to visit Nepal in the winter season and take the 'gentleman' with him, which the writer has already communicated to Mr. Duncan, yet it is not sufficient. The writer advises the Raja to write to his lordship to this effect and to request him to send Capt. Kirkpatrick to Nepal on the footing of friendship adding that the Raja would receive the Captain at Kathmandu and entertain him well during his stay there. It is necessary in the interest of the Raja himself to keep the English satisfied. The writer is the guru of the Raja and as such asks him to act as suggested. Should the Raja fail to comply, the writer would also 'give him up entirely' 70.

But, though Bahadur Shah yielded to Gajraj Misra, his intuition was right. Kirkpatrick's coming did weaken Nepal. His comments on the routes to Kathmandu were eagerly studied by the British in 1814 on the eve of the Anglo-Nepal war, 71 and this fact tends to prove the soundness of Nepal's basic policy. Keep the British out of the hills. Be friends with them. But keep them out of the hills.

5. Rana Bahadur Shah

In 1795 Rana Bahadur Shah set aside his uncle, Bahadur Shah, and began to rule Nepal himself. Nepal had come safely out of the Chinese danger, and there was leisure to consolidate the conquests made during the regency of Bahadur Shah. And the times called for consolidation. For in India the nature of the Company was undergoing a subtle change. The Company had slowly achieved stability under Warren Hastings and Cornwallis. Some of the major defects in the Government of India Act 1773 were ironed out, and the Company's government began to function more efficiently. Tipu Sultan had been defeated, and the Company annexed territory that gave them an overland connection between the Bengal and the Madras presidencies. The governor of Bengal had become governor general in fact as well as in name, and there was far more co-ordination in the Company's policies. With the arrival of Wellesley the Company began to pursue its goal of security in new directions. There was an effort to rationalize borders, to set up buffer zones, and to disarm the native states by a policy of subsidiarity. Perhaps most important, an effort was made to set up the Company as the mediator between the native states in all matters, to channel communications from one to the other through the Company and thereby to monitor their plans and policies. Pivotal in this new series of developments was the role of the resident at native courts. The resident was the on-the-spot expert who kept the governor general informed through frequent, at times daily, reports of the slightest change in the political atmosphere of the court to which he was assigned. He was a powerful figure in any court because, for the local raja, all access to the governor general was through the resident. And, since the resident supplied the information necessary for decisions to the governor general and actually mediated those decisions to the local raja, often with great latitude for his own discretion, his opinion, his comments, and his advice assumed great importance in the court. If a court agreed to accept a British subsidiary force, first as an augment to its own army then as a substitute, the resident's power increased tremendously. To the point, in fact, where he was very nearly the actual ruler--and as far as the Company's government was concerned, he was treated as the actual ruler. The concept of a resident at a local court and even the concept of subsidiary forces taken in themselves were dangerous, but not overly so. It was when these two ideas were joined to Wellesley's drive for rational boundaries, true buffer states, and secure boundaries that the way was opened to exploit both of these to the detriment of local self-rule. When this power was further expanded by deliberately isolating the local rajas from one another, the day of British paramountcy had dawned in India.

But in Nepal there was apparently little awareness of this change in the Company. The Company was still a trading company that had acquired the powers of government in large stretches of

India. It had power. It had well-trained armies. It had adequate, and at times excellent, leadership. But the Company had not posed a real threat to Nepal since 1767, and even that was largely discounted both because memories fade and because Nepal herself had expanded so greatly. Without a thought for the possible implications of his act, then, Rana Bahadur abdicated in 1799 in favour of his infant son Girbanayuddha Bikram Shah. His act left Nepal without a mature leader at a time when leadership was so desperately needed and necessarily opened the way for factionalism in Kathmandu.

To further confuse the issue, within a year of his abdication Rana Bahadur began to regret what his actions had done to his own position in government and made a desperate attempt to regain at least some of the power that he had abandoned. But he had done his job too well. He had made his abdication as thorough a piece of work as he could make it, and it held even against his own pressures. In the confusion that accompanied his attempt to rule without being king he found the forces arrayed against him more than he could prudently face, and quite suddenly he left Nepal for Banaras. In voluntary exile in Banaras Rana Bahadur could plan his next moves in safety, or so he thought. And thus began what I consider the period of Nepalese history that was most dangerous to the independence of Nepal.

Hardly had Rana Bahadur settled down in Banaras when the British began to sift the situation to see what profit they could find in it for themselves ⁷². The possibilities were apparently endless. Rana Bahadur himself was petitioning their aid in regaining the power he had so thoughtlessly abdicated. This was one British opportunity, and it was a good one. Any British force attempting to restore Rana Bahadur to power would have succeeded because few in Nepal would actually have taken arms against the ex-*raja*. Another British opportunity was to use Rana Bahadur's presence in Banaras as a lever to pry concessions out of the court in Kathmandu. This was also an excellent opportunity.

The court in Kathmandu was in a serious position. If anyone in Kathmandu was doubtful about the matter, these doubts were dispelled when Gajraj Misra came to Kathmandu to explain the situation to them. Gajraj Misra was Rana Bahadur's *vakil* in Banaras, and he knew very well what Rana Bahadur was willing to concede to the British in return for their help and what Rana Bahadur had already written to the governor general. On the positive side Gajraj Misra also knew that the British were still smarting from the fact that Nepal had steadfastly ignored the commercial treaty of 1792 and that they wanted a resident in Kathmandu. He urged the court in Kathmandu to give them this much and he thought that he could avert an invasion of Nepal to restore Rana Bahadur to power. The court accepted his proposals and empowered him to work out a treaty along these lines with the Company. Gajraj Misra abandoned Rana

Bahadur and proceeded to negotiate in the name of the Kathmandu court with the Company's representative, William Knox. A treaty was agreed to and ratified by both Calcutta and Kathmandu. The Kathmandu court achieved the isolation of Rana Bahadur, and the British gained an agreement to implement the commercial treaty of 1792 and the acceptance of a resident in Kathmandu itself.

The treaty of October 1801 was a very unsatisfactory treaty. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that it was based on fear of British military intervention in Nepal. The Nepalis hated it and had accepted it because it was the lesser of the evils. The British accepted the treaty, though they realized its weakness, because it promised them the thin end of the wedge by which they could open the heart of Nepal ⁷³. Every Nepali involved in negotiating it and fulfilling its terms knew that he was laying himself open to the charge of violating a primary principle of foreign relations as set down by Prithvinarayan Shah himself. But the fear of other and greater evils drove them to an act that would brand them for life.

As a matter of fact, the treaty failed. The resident was withdrawn. Rana Bahadur Shah returned to Kathmandu and to the control of the powers of the throne, if not to the throne itself. The danger of 1800 was forgotten, but by one of those strange twists so common in history anyone who had been connected in any way with the treaty of 1801 was remembered in history as pro-British and held suspect. Anachronistically, the pro-British label with its implications was also applied to anyone who had encouraged friendship with the British before or after, in complete oblivion of both the fact that friendship with the British was a principle that Prithvinarayan Shah had acted on and had enjoined on the government of Nepal in his Dibya Upadesh and the fact that the treaty itself had been accepted as a means of extricating Nepal from a very precarious position.

C. The Bhim Sen Thapa Period

The final period we must consider to complete our study is the period from 1804 to 1816. In Nepal this period covers most of the reign of Girbanayuddha Bikram Shah. The principal personages on the Nepal scene were Rana Bahadur Shah, Bhim Sen Thapa, and Kazi Amar Singh Thapa. In the Company's government Wellesley, Cornwallis, Barlow, Minto, and Hastings served as governors general. This is the period of Nepal's expansion through Garhwal, the Athara Thakurai and the Barha Thakurai as well as the siege of Kot Kangra, where Nepali armies clashed with Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The period begins with Rana Bahadur's return from Banaras and ends with the Anglo-Nepal war and the ratification by Nepal of the Treaty of Sagauli.

Rana Bahadur Shah returned from his exile in Banaras in 1804, accompanied by Bhim Sen Thapa, who had by this time become his principal adviser. But Rana Bahadur's return did not mark the final failure of Wellesley's attempt to extract some advantage from the whole exile episode. Wellesley had expected on the basis of Rana Bahadur's conduct in 1799 and 1800 that Rana Bahadur's return to Kathmandu would be such a traumatic experience for the Kathmandu durbar that the governor general would be called upon to mediate between the various factions in the court of Nepal. This did not happen. The various factions did not cease to exist, but they apparently had learned that unbridled maneuvering for political position in Kathmandu was an open invitation to British intervention. They had narrowly escaped from such intervention during the period of Rana Bahadur's exile, and they now closed ranks sufficiently to frustrate the governor general's strategy for Nepal. It is true that several of Rana Bahadur's principal opponents were put to death, but nowhere was there the general unrest that the governor general had anticipated. Rana Bahadur allowed his son to remain on the throne, while he himself quietly became the power behind the throne. Kazi Amar Singh Thapa was given orders to resume the westward conquest, and the energies of the nobility as well as the military were focussed on further westward expansion.

In 1806, just a few months after he had had himself proclaimed as mukhtiyar, or chief minister, Rana Bahadur Shah was unaccountably assassinated. In violent reaction to this Bhim Sen Thapa had a number of the leading nobles put to death and with them the raja of Palpa, who was at that time in detention in Kathmandu. Bhim Sen Thapa also took control of Palpa and the Palpa Tarai, and thereby came into direct confrontation with the Company.

Palpa held a part of its Tarai possessions as zamindari. It had received this grant first from the nawab vazir of Avadh, but after the cession of this part of Avadh to the Company in 1801, ownership of the Palpa Tarai went over to the Company. Despite the change in ownership, Palpa continued to hold the zamindari but paid its annual assessment to the Company. When Nepal assumed control of the Palpa Tarai, a pro forma letter was sent to the governor general requesting that the zamindari rights be made over to Nepal under the same conditions under which Palpa had enjoyed them. This had been the standing agreement in both the Makwanpur Tarai and the Bijayapur-Chaudandi Tarai from Prithvinarayan Shah's time, and Bhim Sen Thapa saw no difficulty in the same formula being applied in the Palpa Tarai. He was, however, refused ⁷⁴. This was the turning point in the Company's Nepal policy. From the time of Warren Hastings the Company had consistently followed a Nepal policy of friendship bordering on appeasement. All border disputes during this period had been settled peacefully through negotiation. From 1806 onwards the Company's policy becomes rigid, suspicious, and insistent on the Company's rights. This certainly was a signal to Bhim Sen Thapa. The question is, did he interpret it correctly?

While he was in Banaras with Rana Bahadur, Bhim Sen Thapa had had an excellent opportunity to observe the British at work at a time when they were carrying out some extremely clever maneuvers. He saw its effects. He saw the way the Company grew, the way it compounded its strength by a skilful use of Indian mercenaries and officials. And he was sufficiently impressed to fear the British. However, in my mind, Bhim Sen Thapa's problem was that he feared the British too much and he feared them too little. And this led him into a war that proved the most costly that Nepal has ever fought.

Bhim Sen Thapa feared the British too much because he became convinced that sooner or later the British would make their move into Nepal. He had seen them trying for years to place a resident in Nepal, which could be interpreted as the first step towards subsidiarity and loss of independence. He saw growing British frustration with Nepal's trade policies. Perhaps more important, as the Company became more and more a government and less a trading establishment, he saw its increasing concern for safe borders. Rightly or wrongly, Bhim Sen Thapa concluded from this personal observation that war with the British was inevitable, and he interpreted the British action in regard to the Palpa Tarai as the first indication that war would not be long delayed. When the principle of limitation ⁷⁵ was communicated to him in 1813 by the governor general, it could only have appeared to Bhim Sen Thapa as the emergence of the Ducarel position as official Company policy towards Nepal and confirmed his conviction what was was unabordable.

At the same time, Bhim Sen Thapa feared the British too little. At this stage of the Company's development in India, the superiority of British administration had begun to make itself felt. The British were well on their way to solving the problems of government communication in India in a way that no other Indian power had ever done. Nowhere does this superiority appear more forcefully than in Bhim Sen Thapa's effort to form an alliance between Nepal, the Marathas, and Ranjit Singh. The information Bhim Sen Thapa received was outdated even before it came into his hands and was often misleading. The governor general, on the other hand, often knew through his residents in different courts what was being planned in those courts long before their plans passed from the discussion stage. And he acted accordingly. The Marathas were isolated from any possible alliance with Nepal before the first shot of the war was fired ⁷⁶. And the isolation of the Marathas proved a decisive factor in defeating Bhim Sen Thapa's strategy.

Bhim Sen Thapa also underestimated the Company's war machine. His assessment of the Company's fighting strength was correct as far as manpower was concerned. The Gorkhali was definitely a superior mountain soldier to any that came against him. He was also

right in his assessment of the inability of the British commanders to penetrate the mountains of Nepal. But surprisingly, for a military man who had had three years and more to observe such things at close range, he completely underestimated the effectiveness of British artillery and the ability of British engineers to move their artillery even through mountainous terrain 77.

At this stage I am not sure whether a man like Bhim Sen Thapa was capable of reacting in any other way than he did. He was a military man who, to my knowledge, never exercised actual field command. He was the effective ruler of Nepal and therefore commander of a military machine that had made unprecedented victories in the hills. He was riding on the crest of enthusiasm that only such victories can create. But he had no actual experience as a commander in the field to temper this enthusiasm. Given his understanding of the British, I suspect, though I would like to reserve final judgment on this to a later date, that Bhim Sen Thapa took the only course that appeared open to him.

Unwilling as I am to venture an assessment of Bhim Sen Thapa's ability as a leader in Nepal at this time, I am convinced that I am right in concluding that he feared the British too little and too much. He was not a Prithvinarayan Shah. He was not able to grasp, even from extended observation, the nature of the Company. He was not able to realize that the Company had not only grown in size but that its very nature had changed. He was not able to realize that the Company was fast becoming a government in a sense that was completely new to India. Whatever its faults and failings in regard to the welfare of the ruled, the Company was mastering the sheer geographical problems of ruling India that had contributed so heavily to the defeat of the Afghans, the Mughuls, and the Marathas. It was a Company that presented new problems that demanded new approaches and new policies. Successful dealing with the Company required new alternatives to the older attitudes towards the Company. It was no longer a question of security of trade that dominated the Company's thinking, but security of boundaries, security of its ryots, and security of revenue. The Company had grown in status from that of an interloper on the Indian scene to that of the 'Establishment', and any state that wished to live in peace with the Company would have to reshape its policies accordingly.

In The Rise of the House of Gorkha I have analyzed Bhim Sen Thapa's assessment of the British and the causes of the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-16. I concluded there that Bhim Sen Thapa gambled on the outcome of his strategy and that his strategy could well have proved to be successful. These conclusions I still hold quite strongly. The point at issue here is not Bhim Sen Thapa's strategy nor his assessment of British intentions in the period immediately preceding the War. It is the intervening period that is significant in the present context. The period from the Kirkpatrick mission in 1793 to Rana Bahadur's exile in 1800 indicates a

strong British thrust for a more secure accommodation with Nepal. In the period from 1800 to 1804 this thrust became more pronounced when the governor general began to initiate moves to secure his objectives in Nepal. The period from 1804 to 1810 is the period when Warren Hastings' policy towards Nepal was abandoned and the Ducarel position became more attractive to the Company's government, indicated by the hardening of the British position and the growing intransigence in their attitude towards Nepal. It is precisely at this period, then, that a reassessment of the Company was required. A basic adaptation in Nepal's policy was needed, because one of the key assumptions on which that policy had been based was no longer true. Prithvinarayan Shah had recognized that the Company in his time had been concerned about security of trade and that as long as Nepal represented no threat to that security she would have little to fear from the Company. But with the passing years this had radically changed. The Company was concerned in Bhim Sen Thapa's time with security of borders, and the very existence of a strong Nepal constituted a threat to that security unless adequate treaties were established between Nepal and the Company and scrupulously observed. Bhim Sen Thapa did not see this, and Nepal paid the price. What was needed was another Prithvinarayan Shah. Bhim Sen Thapa did not measure up to that standard, but, then, who in Nepal has?

Conclusions

I set myself the goal in this study to review the question posed by Yadu Nath Khanal on the role that fear of the British played in the unification of Nepal. I have reviewed the period of the unification of Nepal with this as the focal point. It is time now to draw some conclusions.

First, there was definitely a 'fear' of the British from the days of Prithvinarayan Shah to those of Bhim Sen Thapa, but I insist on qualifying that expression 'fear'. I do not think that Prithvinarayan Shah had any direct fear of British intervention in Nepal even though he recognized the possibility of British efforts in that direction. What concerned Prithvinarayan Shah was that the British might opt to side with one or other of the rajas of the Nepal Tarai against him and thereby either block or render extremely difficult further Gorkhali expansion into the eastern Tarai. I think the word concern is more apt to express his attitude than the word fear, and I have tried to use this word rather than the word fear in regard to Prithvinarayan Shah's attitude towards the Company and the British. I have also pointed out that Prithvinarayan Shah's strategy for meeting this concern revolved around the twin principles of keeping the British out of the hills and maintaining friendship with them in order to offset any overtures that might be extended to them by his enemies.

During the period from 1775 to 1800, the basic concern for the British remained approximately the same as it had in the earlier period, though there was a slight shift in emphasis. It was no longer the immediate military effects of a possible British intervention in the hills that concerned the Kathmandu durbar. The durbar was concerned that the British might grant their protection to one of the hill rajas and the very presence of the British in Nepal would upset the sensitive balance of power in the hills, leading to unrest and eventual British efforts to impose order on the hills. The problem differed slightly, but the solution remained essentially the same: using and cultivating friendship with the British to counter possible alliances between the hill rajas and the British. In the review of this period I have pointed out how the Kathmandu durbar actively employed Bahadur Shah to counteract the activity of envoys from the Chaubisi Rajas to the governor general in search of military aid and assistance.

During the period from 1800 to 1804 a true fear of British intervention in Nepal swept over the Kathmandu durbar when Rana Bahadur Shah went into voluntary exile in Banaras. It was no longer a question of an alliance between a hill raja and the British that might bring the British into the hills but the very strong possibility that the ex-raja of Nepal might use British assistance to regain power in Kathmandu itself. This eventuality was averted, but in the aftermath, this exposure to danger left permanent scars in the form of pro-British and anti-British labels in the Kathmandu court.

The final period that I have reviewed, that from 1804 to 1816, I have said was characterized both by too much fear of the British and too little--too much fear of British intentions in Nepal; too little fear of British military power and mobility. It was a reaction that blinded Bhim Sen Thapa to the changing nature of British rule in India. I have said that Bhim Sen Thapa failed to see what Prithvinarayan Shah would have realized at once, that a change in the nature of one's opponent requires either a change in the nature of one's policy or greater flexibility in applying it. While reserving a final assessment of Bhim Sen Thapa for a later date, I concluded tentatively that he was unable to assess the change in the Company's government and therefore incapable of adjusting Nepal's response.

Secondly, fear of the British, actual physical fear, played a relatively minor role in the unification of Nepal, and such fear as there was did not play a significant role until the very end of the unification period.

Thirdly, I cannot agree to the proposition that fear of the British prompted the Nepalis to seek a tighter union among the hill states and therefore helped Nepal to forge a stronger nation. Nepal did, in fact, seek a tighter union, and it did forge a

stronger nation. Prithvinarayan Shah did introduce corrections into the type of administration that was commonly found in the hills before his day. And these corrections gave Nepal strength and flexibility, both of which were essential aspects of true unification. But these corrections were not introduced out of reaction to the British. It was Prithvinarayan Shah's observation of the Mughul and Maratha systems of administration that suggested these modifications to him. His analysis of the weaknesses in the Mughul and Maratha systems and his appreciation of the problems of government led to those steps that became the basis of Nepal's administrative system and its strength. I am further convinced that this system had the strength to survive generations of misuse and a war with the British without succumbing to the geopolitical centrifugal forces operative in the Himalayas precisely because it was a system based not on reaction but on the positive evaluation of the problems of unified government. The system fitted the hills because it was designed for the hills by a man who knew the hills. He had the intelligence to study other systems and understand why they failed and then to re-think his own approach to government. I think Prithvinarayan Shah took the measures which he saw the internal logic of the situation demanded rather than adopting ad hoc solutions to problems that were thrown up by the mere presence of a strong East India Company, no matter how threatening that Company might seem to us to have been. Because of this, I have called Prithvinarayan Shah a practical genius. Practical genius is not 'near' genius. It is genius in the practical order as opposed to the theoretical order. By this expression I mean that Prithvinarayan Shah had the remarkable gift of being able to see and analyze a situation in concrete terms and to apply effective practical remedies. And therefore I conclude that the assumption that fear played a significant or even a determining role in the unification of Nepal is an anachronism that imposed on the unification period the attitudes common to the Bhim Sen Thapa period. Such an assumption will not stand the test of careful scrutiny. Those who are tempted to hold such a view are being tyrannized by time. They see the Company for what it became and not for what it was, and they read into Prithvinarayan Shah's decisions and injunctions a reaction of fear rather than awareness and concern. Fear is negative and leads to a defensive posture. Awareness and concern are positive and lead to action.

Footnotes

1. Ludwig F. Stiller, S.J., The Rise of the House of Gorkha (New Delhi, 1973).
2. Baburam Acharya, Sri Panch Baramaharajadhiraj Prithvinarayan Shah Ko Samkshipta Jivani (Kathmandu, 2024 B.S.), i, 165-6.
3. Cf. Iswari Prasad, India in the Eighteenth Century (Allahabad, 1973), pp. 41-3, gives a perfect example of this sort of listing of causes.
4. The expression Hindu-Pad-Padshahi was been variously interpreted by scholars. Basically it implied a union of Hindus for the protection of their religion and invoked the power of the Marathas as well as of other leading Hindu princes in the defense of Hinduism. The differences between opinions expressed by scholars can in most cases be traced to the individual's concept of the degree of militancy involved in the protection and defense of Hinduism. It was a noble ideal that had strong national overtones.
5. Chauth was a levy of one-fourth of the assessed income of a territory levied by the Marathas on territories not under their direct rule. The territories paid it as protection against further Maratha raids.
6. Kalikinkar Datta, Alivardi and His Times (Calcutta, 1963), pp. 57-8, quotes several graphic passages from contemporary writers in support of this, of which one from Gangarama, Maharasthapurana, is given here: 'The Brahmans and the Pandits ran away with their books, the Sonar Benias (goldsmiths) with their weights and measures, the Gandha-vankiks (grocers, druggists, and perfumers) and the Knasaraais (bell-metal workers) after closing their shops, the blacksmiths and the potters with their implements, the fishermen with their nets and ropes, and the Sankha-vaniks (conch-dealers) with their own articles. The Kayasthas and the Vaidyas followed suit . . . The Ksetris and the Rajputs fled away leaving their swords behind; the Kaivartas and the agriculturists did the same with their ploughs and with paddy seeds on the back of their oxen . . . Suddenly the Bargis [Marathas] surrounded these run-away people in the field and plundered their gold and silver to the exclusion of everything else. They cut off the hands of some, noses and ears of others, and killed many. They even ravished beautiful women, entered into the villages, and set fire to the houses'.
7. G.S. Sardesai, New History of the Marathas (Bombay, 1958), ii, 220.
8. Ibid., ii, 227-8.

9. Ibid., i, 295. Sardesai in this locus is almost lyrical in his expression of this policy, setting it forth as an imaginary speech of Shahu. In what must be one of the wildest stretches of historical imagination on record he calls it 'a studied plan of philanthropic non-violent principles applied to the politics of the day'.
10. Datta, Alivardi, pp. 115-24.
11. Sardesai, Marathas, ii, 224; also Fort William-India House Correspondence, i, pp. vii and xv.
12. Datta, Alivardi, p. 82.
13. Cf. Ludwig F. Stiller, S.J., Prithwinarayan Shah in the Light of Dibya Upadesh (Kathmandu, 1968).
14. Cf. Lucy S. Sutherland, The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics (Oxford, 1962); also Arthur Berriedale Keith, A Constitutional History of India 1600-1935 (Allahabad, 1961), 2nd edition, for a survey of the early history of the East India Company. Interesting details are also to be found in W.W. Hunter, History of British India (Delhi, 1972), 2nd edition, 2 vols., and Philip Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders (London, 1953).
15. This preoccupation is brought out beautifully in the case of Sir Thomas Roe. He spent three and a half years trying to get a treaty from Jahangir. He was unwilling to accept anything less, even though Jahangir was quite willing to give an order granting the Company the right to trade. Roe's reasons for finding this unsatisfactory were contained in his expression, 'The Emperor rules by whim'. Apparently the magic of a legal formality would change this for Sir Thomas.
16. All Europeans trading in India wanted a permanent factory (warehouse) where trade goods could be accumulated throughout the year, because they had learned from experience that the cost of trade goods automatically increased whenever a ship put into port. The rivalries between trading companies and the value of the goods stored in the factory made an armed guard imperative.
17. In 1670 the agent or governor drew thirteen hundred pounds a year as salary; the three members of his council drew one hundred, seventy, and fifty pounds respectively. Factors received between forty and twenty pounds. Writers (clerks) received ten pounds and apprentices five. Cf. Woodruff, op.cit., p. 65.
18. Internal trade by the Company's servants became especially profitable after Alamgir's firman of 1715 granting the Company an exemption from inland duties.

19. The Company's servants in India sent money home by bills of remittance. They turned cash over to the Company in India, with which trade goods was bought. When the goods was shipped back to England an accompanying letter directed the authorities in London to pay over the concerned sums to specified people in England. The remittance lists are a good indication of the increase in private trade. A comparison of the list for 30 December 1760 and that for 31 December 1767 shows an increase of three hundred per cent. At the same time, the authorities in Calcutta were complaining that the Court's strictness on such remittances was forcing many people in India to remit their funds through the French and Dutch, thereby indicating that the huge increase was only a fraction of the money being sent back to England.
20. Perhaps the strongest criticism available of this abuse is to be found in Verelst, Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal, 1772.
21. The Company's initial legal powers were confined to the powers of martial law conferred on the commander of each trading voyage. When the further question arose of disputes among Europeans in India itself, the crown granted the Company the power to make laws compatible with the laws of England. The legal right to grant such powers is questionable. It was not until Bombay was transferred to the crown in 1661 that the crown had any legitimate right to grant the Company the powers to make laws in India, and this was confined to the area of Bombay. However, the very fact that the crown granted such powers as early as 1623 indicates the need felt in the Company's factories for some form of legal control of its servants.
22. Sutherland, op. cit., pp. 218-22.
23. There is no attempt here to pass over these abuses lightly. They were very serious and cannot but be condemned. However, this aspect of Company rule has been abundantly treated by both contemporary authors and historians. Attention should also be called to the complaints made by the Court of Directors on this point especially before 1775.
24. Kalikinkar Datta, ed., Fort William-India House Correspondence (Delhi, 1958), i, pp. x-xi.
25. Ibid., p. xi.
26. Ibid., p. xv.
27. H.N. Sinha, ed., Fort William-India House Correspondence (Delhi, 1957), ii, p. xxxvii.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. xxxvi.

30. Ibid., Letter to Court of 31 December 1758, p. 358.
31. Ibid., p. xlvi.
32. R.C. Majumdar, et al, An Advanced History of India (New York, 1967), 3rd edition, p. 664.
33. C.S. Srinivaschari, ed., Fort William-India House Correspondence (Delhi, 1962), iv, 258-9, 'Letter to Court, 27 September 1764'.
34. N.K. Sinha, ed., Fort William-India House Correspondence (Delhi, 1949), v, 89-98, 'Letter to Court, 16 March 1768', paras. 77-123. It should be noted that in addition to the regular force an additional force of sepoys was to be maintained for normal police work.
35. A letter of Prithvinarayan Shah to Ram Krishna Kunwar, dated Magh, sudi 1 roj, summarised in Samsodhan Mandal, Prithvinarayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Kathmandu, 2025 B.S.), iii, 986-8.
36. A second attempt by Kinloch to come to the assistance of Jaya Prakash was postponed because the Company's officers were obliged to send support to the south. Cf. K.C. Chaudhuri, Anglo-Nepalese Relations (Calcutta, 1960), p. 30.
37. S.C. Sarkar, 'The Nepal Frontier in the Second Half of the 18th Century', Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Third Session (Calcutta, 1939), p. 1607.
38. L.F. Stiller, S.J., 'A Letter of Giuseppe de Rovato', Journal of Tribhuvan University, v (June, 1970), No. 1, p. 10.
39. A letter of Prithvinarayan Shah to Ram Krishna Kunwar, dated Aswin, sudi 15, roj 4 (25 Aswin 1824) published in summary form in Samsodhan Mandal, Upadesh, iii, 1026-30.
40. Prithvinarayan Shah, Dibya Upadesh (Kathmandu, 2016 B.S.), ed. Yogi Nar Hari Nath, p. 19.
41. Lucy S. Sutherland, The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics (Oxford, 1962), pp. 218-28.
42. James Logan, Memorandum to the Board of Directors at Fort William, Home Department, Official Consultation 31 October 1769, no. 1, published by S.C. Sarkar, 'Some Interesting Documents', Bengal Past and Present, xlv (1932) serial no. 87, pp. 43-6.
43. Letter from Court, dated 16 March 1768, Fort William-India House Correspondence, v (1767-9), p. 81.
44. Letter to Court, dated 25 January 1770, Fort William-India House Correspondence, vi (1770-2), p. 180.

45. Sarkar speculates that Logan was still in Nepal in 1774 when Prithvinarayan Shah wrote to the Teshu Lama advising him against opening trade routes to the Company.
46. William Kirkpatrick, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul (London, 1811), p. 271; also CPC, viii, no. 332, Letter of Adbhut Singh to the governor general, received 16 April 1788.
47. Sarkar, 'Some Interesting Documents', pp. 50-1, quoted from Proceedings, dated 10 August 1771, decision of the Board in Calcutta on the Makwanpur Tarai.
48. Ibid. It is to be noted that the Board clearly indicated that the giving of this territory in farm to Prithvinarayan Shah did not constitute an abandonment of its claim. This, then, becomes a clear precedent for Nepal's holding parts of the British Tarai in zamindari on the regular payment of the annual assessment to the Company, a position that the governor general found unacceptable in 1806.
49. Chaudhuri, Relations, p.52.
50. Sarkar, 'The Nepal Frontier in the Second Half of the 18th Century', pp. 1621-2.
51. CPC, vi, no. 949; compare this with the discussion reported by Chaudhuri, Relations, pp. 53-4.
52. Prithvinarayan Shah, Dibya Upadesh, pp. 11-12.
53. Ibid., p. 11.
54. Bhasha Vamsavali, quoted in Samsodhan Mandal, Upadesh, iii, 919-20.
55. Prithvinarayan Shah, Dibya Upadesh, p. 15.
56. Dinesh Raj Pant, 'B.S. 1832 Dekhi B.S. 1858 Samma Ko Nepal Ko Itihas Nayan Prakash Parne Kehi Patraharu', Purnima, No. 17, pp. 27-51; 'Aprakashit Chhaota Aitihāsik Patraharu', Purnima, No. 20, pp. 306-28; and 'Aprakashit Barhaota Aitihāsik Patra', Purnima, No. 21, pp. 49-70.
57. Dinesh Raj Pant, 'Aprakashit Barhaota Aitihāsik Patraharu', Purnima, No. 21, pp. 49-51.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., pp. 54-5.
60. CPC, viii, Nos. 287, 1356, 1440, 1442, 1446; ix, No. 168; and especially x, No. 344.
61. For a more detailed treatment of this rapid advance, cf. Stillier, Gorkha, Chapter VI.

62. Ibid., pp. 257-9.
63. CPC, vii, No. 723; ix, No. 1495; and x, Nos. 1970 and 1971.
64. I do not believe the significance of this fact has been pointed out before this. According to Shakabpa, Tibet: A Political History (Yale, 1967), pp. 166-7, serious fighting in Tibet had already broken out by the time the commercial treaty was negotiated, although it was not until July that the actual Chinese invasion of Nepal had begun.
65. CPC, ix, No. 699, Letter of the governor general to the Raja of Nepal, dated 11 November 1790.
66. CPC, x, No. 682, Letter from the Raja of Nepal to the governor general, received 22 August 1792.
67. Ibid., No. 724, Letter from the Raja of Nepal to the governor general, received 5 September 1792.
68. CPC, x, Nos. 852 and 898.
69. Ibid., No. 745, Abdul Qadir Khan's report to Mr. Duncan, resident at Banaras.
70. Ibid., No. 884 (6), Letter of Gajraj Misra to the Raja of Nepal.
71. Secret Consultation 16 August 1814, No. 5, Letter of J. Adam, secretary to government, to Lt. Col. Crawford, dated 21 July 1814.
72. Secret Consultation 26 June 1800, No. 85, Letter of instructions to Captain W.D. Knox, dated 23 June 1800.
73. Secret Consultation 30 June 1802, No. 11, Instructions of governor general to Capt. Knox as first resident to Nepal.
74. Secret Consultation 17 July 1806, No. 89. Official note of the Persian secretary to government to the vakil of the raja of Nepal, dated 6 January 1806. It should be noted here that the Nepal occupation of the Palpa Tarai actually dated from the time of the raja of Palpa's detention.
75. This letter is quoted in full along with Nepal's reply in Stiller, Gorkha, pp. 240-4.
76. Henry T. Prinsep, A Narrative of the Political and Military Transactions in India under the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings 1813-20 (London, 1820), pp. 49-52.
77. The mobility of British artillery, especially at Malaon and Makwanpur was to prove one of the decisive factors in the war.

लिच्छविकालमा नेपाल उपत्यकाको विभिन्न भागमा निकै बस्ती बसिसकेका थिए । उपत्यकाका क्लेउमा रहेका प्रदेश लिच्छविहरूको समयदेखि नै आबाद भइसकेको देखिन्छ । अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वर चापागाउँ धानकोट बूढानीलकण्ठ गोकर्ण साखु आदि उपत्यकाका चारैतिरका गाउँमा पाइएका लिच्छवि अभिलेखहरूबाट यो कुरा विदित हुन्छ । काठमाडौं पाटन भादगाउँ मा पनि त्यस बेला प्रशस्त बस्ती थिए । तर अहिले जस्तै तीन ठूला शहरका रूपमा ती परिणत भइसकेका थिएनन् ^१ ।

काठमाडौं शहर लिच्छविहरूको समयमा ददिाणकोलिग्राम तथा कोलिग्राम नामले दुई भागमा विभक्त थियो । वर्तमान काठमाडौं शहरको ददिाणी भाग अर्थात् आजभोलिको लगन यङ्गोलटोल ब्रसटोल आदि प्रदेश ददिाणकोलिग्राम नामले प्रसिद्ध थियो । यो कुरा त्यतातिर पाइएका लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ^२ । काठमाडौंको ददिाणी भागको पुष्करमा रहेको मीननारायणस्थानदेखि यङ्गोलहिटीसम्मका लिच्छवि अभिलेखमा त्यतातिरको प्रदेशलाई बुफाउने ददिाणकोलिग्राम भनिएको छ ^३ । आजभोलिको इटुम्बहाल सेतो मत्स्येन्द्रनाथतिरको ठाउँचाहिँ उस बेला कोलिग्राम नामले प्रसिद्ध थियो । पक्षिसम्म पनि यस मेकलाई कोलिग्राम भन्ने चलन हराइसकेको थिएन । प्रतिवर्ष श्रावण महीनामा हुने बहिबोय् मनी प्रसिद्ध विहारमा संचित वस्तुहरूको प्रदर्शनी देखाउने वेलामा इटुम्बहालमा प्रदर्शित गरिने हस्त लिखित ग्रन्थको अन्त्यमा लेखिएको पुष्पिकावाक्यबाट इटुम्बहाल कोलिग्रामभित्र पर्दथ्यो भन्ने बुझिन्छ ^४ । यदामल्लको पालामा सारिएको सट्टा हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थमा पनि कोलिग्रामको उल्लेख आएको छ । त्यस उल्लेखअनुसार जमलगण्ठ (महिन्द्रबहाल) कोलिग्रामभित्र पर्दथ्यो ^५ । लिच्छविकालकै अभिलेखमा चाहिँ कोलिग्रामको चर्चा पाइएको छैन । परन्तु शहरको ददिाण पट्टिको भागलाई ददिाणकोलिग्राम भन्ने तात्कालिक उल्लेख पाइएको हुनाले इटुम्बहाल सेतो मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ आदि वर्तमान शहरको मध्यभाग लिच्छविकाल देखि नै कोलिग्राम नामले प्रसिद्ध थियो भन्ने देखिन आउँछ ।

लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा पाइने ठाउँलाई बुफाउने नाम दुई किसिमका छन् । दोलादि नवगृह यूपग्राम आदि एक थरि नाम संस्कृत शब्दबाट बनेका छन् । माखोपृढो लस्मिप्रङ्ग, पुठम्पिप्रङ्ग आदि अर्काथरि नाम संस्कृतेतर भाषासंग सम्बद्ध छन् । लिच्छविकालमा सबै सरकारी कामकाज संस्कृतमा गरिन्थे । अहिलेसम्म पाइएका त्यस बेलाका सबै अभिलेख संस्कृत भाषामै लेखिएका छन् । यस कारण लिच्छविहरूले संस्कृत शब्दबाट बनेका नाम बढी रूचाउनु स्वाभाविक छ । परन्तु संस्कृतमा दोलादि यूपग्राम नवगृह आदि नामको व्यवहार गरिए पनि साधारण जनताको बोलचालीको भाषामा बेग्लै नाम प्रयोग गर्ने चलन थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ । पाटनका

लिच्छविलालेखमा उल्लिखित यूपग्राम वर्तमान पाटन शहरको पूर्वरूप थियो । मौलोलाई बुझाउने संस्कृत 'यूप' शब्दबाट त्यस प्रदेशको नामीकरण भएको क् । पुरानो नेवारी टीका भएको अमरकोशअनुसार यूपलाई बुझाउने नेवारी शब्द 'यलर्सि' हो । पाटनलाई नेवारी भाषामा 'यल' भनिन्छ । यस कारण लिच्छविलाले 'यल'लाई संस्कृतीकरण गरी यूपग्राम भनी नाम राखेका हुन् कि भन्ने देखिन्छ ^६ । लिच्छविकालको अन्त्यपक्षि संस्कृत भाषाको पठन-पाठन कम हुँदै गएको हुनाले संस्कृत शब्दबाट बनेका ठाउँका नाउँभन्दा लोक भाषासँग सम्बद्ध ठाउँका नाम बढी प्रचार भए । लिच्छविकालमा दोलाद्रि भनी प्रसिद्ध चाँगुडाँडा मध्यकालमा चंगु भनी बढी प्रसिद्ध भयो । देउपाटनलाई नवगृह भनी कतै कतै लेखिए पनि यसको चत्तीको नाउँ 'ग्वल' थियो ^७ । यसै गरी लिच्छविकालपक्षि काठमाडौंको ददिाणी भागलाई बुझाउन ददिाणाकोलिग्राम भन्नाको सट्टा यङ्गोल भन्न थालियो । उत्तरी भागलाई कोलिग्राम भन्नाको सट्टा यम्बु भन्ने चलन बढी चल्थो । यङ्गोल भन्नाले त्यस बेला पूर्वमा आज मोलिको टेबहालको सिमानासम्म ददिाणामा लगनटोलभन्दा पर पश्चिममा भीमसेनस्थानसम्म र उत्तरमा मखनटोलको सिंहढोकासम्मको प्रदेशलाई बुझाउँथ्यो । यसै गरी मखनदेखि ठहिटीसम्मको प्रदेशलाई यम्बु भनिन्थ्यो । हनुमान्ढोकाबाट मखनटोल भएर इन्द्रचोक निस्कने बाटोमा उभिएका ढुङ्गाका दुइ सिंह यम्बु पस्ने ढोकाका अवशेषको रूपमा रहेका छन् । हस्तलिखित प्राचीन ग्रन्थ, घर जग्गा सुक्रीबिक्री गर्दा प्रामाणिक सरकारी कागतको रूपमा लेखिने पुराना ताडपत्र र तत्तत्-स्थानका शिलापत्रहरूबाट हामी यो कुरा थाहा पाउँदछौं । विचार गर्न सजिलो होस् भनी तिनमध्ये केहीका उद्धरण तल दिइन्छु ।

नवोत्तराशीतियुते शतेब्दे आणाढशुकलस्य तिथौ तृतीये

श्रीशंकराख्ये जयति दिातीन्द्रे श्रीयङ्गोलस्योत्तरटोलके यः ।

धर्माशियः सत्कुललव्यजन्मा गुणाप्रियो राघवसिंहनामा

ज्ञानप्रकाशं शिवधर्मशास्त्रं शुभप्रतिष्ठं कृतवान् समग्रं ॥

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयमा रहेको तेस्रो ३६३ संख्याको धर्मपुत्रिका नामक ग्रन्थबाट ^८)

(ने.सं. १८१ (वि.सं. ११२६) आणाढ शुक्लतृतीयाको दिन राजा शंकरदेवको पालामा

यङ्गोलको उत्तरतिरको टोलमा बस्ने धर्मात्मा असल कुलमा जन्मेका गुणी राघवसिंह भन्नेले ज्ञान बढाउने असल साहित्यमा लेख्न शुरू गरेको शिवधर्मशास्त्र जम्मै लेखिसिदियार)।

यङ्गोलको पहिलो उल्लेखको रूपमा यो देखापरेको क् ।

श्रीयङ्गोलकृमायाधिवासे.... श्रीमत् राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर परमभट्टारक श्रीनरेन्द्रदेवविजय-राज्ये ॥ सम्बत् २६५

(पंचरत्ना नामक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट ^९)

(श्रीयङ्गोल भन्ने शहरमा... राजाधिराज परमेश्वर परमभट्टारक श्री नरेन्द्रदेवको

विजयराज्यमा ने.सं. २६५ (वि.सं. १२०२) मा.....)

६२ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

सम्बत् ४५४ मार्गशिरवधि ११ यंगल श्रीतिभयकृत्य पांचालि मद्राड्स
(मरुसत्तलमा टांगिरको ताम्रपत्रबाट ^{१०})

(ने. सं. ४५४ (वि. सं. १३६०) मार्ग कृष्ण एकादशीको दिन यंगल श्रीतिभयकृत्य पांचालि
देवता)

श्रीश्रीजयअरिमल्लदेवप्रमुठाकुरसन यंगल हुतिगुल लुंगुल मनाके कमराज पुन भात्य सह
प्रसादारपा सम्बत् ५२३ पौष शुद्धि १३ ॥

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ को पोक्रामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)
श्रीश्रीजय अरिमल्लदेव राजाले यङ्गोल ल्हुतिगु (वर्तमान ल्हुगल) लुंगुल मनाकेमा बस्ने
कमराज र उनका भाइलाई निगाह गरिदिएको..... ने. सं. ५२३ वि. सं. १४५६ पौष शुक्ल
त्रयोदशीको दिन)

वर्तमान जैसीदेवल नगीचेको ल्हुगल टोललाई यहाँ ल्हुतिगु भनिएको छ । यहाँ उल्लेख
भएको लुंगुल चाहिँ जैसीदेवलमन्दा केही पर पूर्वतिर पर्दथ्यो । जैसीदेवलसँगै पूर्वदिशि कुनामा
रहेको विहारमा टांगिरको शिवसिंहको पालाको ताम्रपत्रमा त्यस ठाउँलाई लुंगुलत्वर भनी
लेखिएको छ ।

श्रीयंगमन्दोसं निरकथवंकां जोगीभरादत्वं.... थ्व कोणोन फलके कुरके घारे.... सम्बत्
५३७ आषाढ कृष्ण ॥ अमावस्याया तिथ्व ॥ प्वडा नदात्र ॥.... जोगे सनिवरवासरे ॥

(मरुसत्तलमा टांगिरको तामाको भाँडामा कुँदिएको अप्रकाशित अभिलेखबाट)

(श्रीयंगलको मन्दो अर्थात् मण्डपमा गोसाईकुण्ड जाने जोगी भलाडहल्लाई यस भाँडोमा
भरेर कुरकि (दुइमाना) चिउरा दिनु ।..... ने. सं. ५३७ (वि. सं. १४७४) आषाढ कृष्ण
अमावासी पुष्य नदात्र शनैश्वरवारको दिन)

सम्बत् ६६२ वैशाख कृष्ण तृयोदस्यायां तिथौ श्रीयंगल मन्दोतोल श्रीमिरसिंह...

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ पोक्रामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)

(ने. सं. ६६२ (वि. सं. १५६६) वैशाख कृष्ण त्रयोदशीको दिन श्री यङ्गोल मन्दोतोल
वर्तमान मरुटोल) मा बस्ने श्रीमिरसिंह)

श्रीमत्कान्तिपुरमहानगरे श्रीयंगलकाष्ठमण्डपस्थाने इहैव पूणे भूमौ.... सम्बत् ६६०
वैशाखमास्ये शुक्लपक्षे ॥ तृतीयान्तिथौ ॥

(काठमाडौं भीमसेन स्थानमा रहेको ताम्रपत्रबाट ^{११})

(कान्तिपुर शहरमा यङ्गोल काष्ठमण्डपस्थानमा यस पुण्यभूमिमा ने. सं. ६६० (वि. सं.
१५३७) वैशाख शुक्ल तृतीयाको दिन)

सम्बत् ६६६ फागुण शुद्धि १थ्व दिन कुन्हु... श्रीश्रीशिवसिंहदेवस्य विजयराज्यस्य
श्रीकाष्ठमण्डपनगरे श्रीयंगर तवविहारम्....

(लगन तबहालको शिलापत्रबाट १२)

(ने.सं. ६६६ (वि.सं. १६३५) फाल्गुन शुक्लप्रतिपदाको दिन.... श्रीश्रीशिवसिंहदेवको विजयराज्यमा काठमाडौं शहर श्रीयंगल तबविहारमा)

श्रीमत्कान्तिपुरमहानगरे श्रीयंगलसंज्ञेको श्री ३ लिच्छिकेश्वरनारायणभट्टारकसंस्थान काष्ठमण्डपस्थाने इहेव पुन्ने भूमो । ।... सम्बत् ७६६ माघमासे कृष्णपक्षो चतुर्दश्यान्तिथो ।
(चिक्रमुगल न्हुवहालको शिलालेखबाट १३)

(श्रीकान्तिपुर शहरमा यङ्गोलको इलाकामा श्री ३ ऋणिकेशव नारायणस्थानमा काष्ठ-मण्डपमा यही पुण्यभूमिमा । ने.सं. ७६६ (वि.सं. १७०२) माघकृष्ण चतुर्दशीको दिन) ।

श्रीश्रीजयप्रतापमल्लदेवप्रभुठाकुरसन श्रीयंगलभूमो क्वहितिटोर मनाके गृहवास्तव्य चित्रकार गोमिसिंहनाम् प्रसादीकृत.... सम्बत् ७७१ श्रावण वद्धि १२....

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च.ल.नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)

(श्रीश्रीजयप्रतापमल्ल देव प्रभुठाकुरले श्रीयङ्गोलको इलाकामा क्वहिति टोल मनाके भन्ने घरमा वस्ने चित्रकार गोमिसिंहको नाउँमा निगाहा गरिदिएको) ।

... ने.सं. ७७१ (वि.सं. १७०८) श्रावण कृष्ण द्वादशी....)

सम्बत् ७८२ माघमासे कृष्णपक्षो ।। चतुर्थ्याया तिथो श्रीमत्कान्तिपुर महानगरे । । श्रीयंगलकाष्ठमण्डपनामधेयो मफिपाट तोर.....

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च.ल.नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)

(ने.सं. ७८२ (वि.सं. १७१८) माघकृष्ण चतुर्थीको दिन श्रीकान्तिपुर शहरमा यङ्गोलको इलाकामा काष्ठमण्डपमा मफिपाट टोलमा....)

माथि दिइएका उद्धारणहरूबाट वर्तमान शहरको दक्षिण भागमा पर्ने लगन तबहालदेखि लिसर ल्हुगल, जैसीदेवल, मफिपाट, क्वहिति, भीमसेनस्थान तथा मरुसतलसम्मको प्रदेश पनि यङ्गोलको इलाकाभित्र पर्दो रहेक भन्ने कुरा ज्ञात हुन्छ । यङ्गोलको यस परिमाणालाई हामीले पूर्णतया बिसिसकेका हौं तापनि यसलाई संफाउने अवशेष चाहिँ अझ बाँकी छन् । काठमाडौं लगनटोल नगीचै सट्टा सानो टोल छ, जसलाई आजभोलि पनि यङ्गोलटोल भन्दछन् । यो यङ्गोलकै अवशेष हो जस्तो मलाई लाग्दछ ।

‘देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमहायानयायिन्या श्रीयम्बित्युत्तरटोलकाधिवासिन्याः परमोपासिकायाः कुमुददैकाया... सम्बत् १७४ चैत्रकृष्णाष्टम्यां । राजधिराज परमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक श्रीवलदेवस्य विजयराज्ये लिखितमिति’

(अष्टसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता नामक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट १४)

(महायान धर्मका अनुयायी यम्बु भन्ने उत्तरटोलकमा वस्ने उपासिका कुमुददैकाको यो देयधर्म हो । राजाधिराज परमेश्वर परमभट्टारक श्रीवलदेवको विजयराज्यमा ने.सं. १७४ (वि.सं. १११०) चैत्र कृष्ण अष्टमीको दिन सारिसिद्धिको हो) ।

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यो यम्बुको पहिलो उल्लेखको रूपमा देखापरेको छ ।

सम्बत् ३१३ द्विषाढपूर्णिमास्याम् । श्रावणनक्षत्रम् । बृहस्पतिवासरे । । श्रीनेपाल-
मण्डले राजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीउर्ध्वपट्टके श्रीमत् श्रीलक्ष्मीकामदेवस्य विजयराज्ये श्रीयम्बुकुमार्या
मखनटोल्लकाधिवासितः

(पिङ्गोलामत मन्ने हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट १५)

(ने. सं. ३१३ (वि. सं. १२५०) द्वितीय आषाढ पूर्णिमा श्रावणनक्षत्र बृहस्पतिवार
राजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीश्रीलक्ष्मीकामदेवको विजयराज्यमा नेपालमण्डलमा यम्बु शहरमा मखन
टोलमा बस्ने)

सम्बत् ५३६ मार्गशिरकृष्णचतुर्थ्यायां श्रीयंबुमहानगरे श्रीसातीगलके योथोलाकैतोलके...
(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)
(ने. सं. ५३६ (वि. सं. १४७५) मार्ग कृष्ण चतुर्थीको दिन श्रीयंबु शहरमा श्रीसातीगलमा
योथोलाकै टोलमा....)

प्रतापमल्लको पालाको रसटा शिलालेखबाट सातीगल ठहिटिसंगैको टोल हो मन्ने
बुझिन्छ १६ । यस कारण यहाँ उल्लिखित सातीगल वर्तमान सीगलटोल काठेसिम्भूको पुरानो
नाउँ हो मन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ ।

..... श्रीजयनरेन्द्रमल्लदेव प्रभु ठाकुरस विजयराज्यः ।। श्रीयंबु तेदोवाहार.... सम्बत्
६६५ माघमासे....

(टेबहालको रसटा शिलालेखबाट १७)

(श्रीश्रीजयनरेन्द्रमल्लदेव प्रभु ठाकुरको विजयराज्यमा श्रीयंबुतेदोवाहार (वर्तमान टेबहाल)
मा... ने. सं. ६६५ (वि. सं. १६०१) माघमा)

यो बाहेक टेबहालका अरू शिलालेखमा पनि स्थान निर्देश गर्दा त्यस ठाउँलाई यम्बुको
इलाकामित्र पर्ने भनी लेखिएको पाइन्छ ।

यो कुरा विचारणीय छ ।

सम्बत् ७१६ कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्ष चतुर्थ्याया तिथौ श्रीयंबुकुमार्या श्रीगागुलगे श्रीमखन-
मण्डपसु.....

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)
(ने. सं. ७१६ (वि. सं. १६५६) कार्तिक कृष्ण चतुर्थीको दिन श्रीयंबु शहरमा श्रीगागुलगमा
श्रीमखनको मण्डपमा)

सम्बत् ८२३ चैत्रमास्य शुक्लपक्षा ।। द्वितीयान्तिथौ ।। श्रीमत्कान्तिपुरमहानगरे
श्रीयम्बुशुवर्णपिनारिमहास्थाने ।। थयन्तितोरके

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)
(ने. सं. ८२३ (वि. सं. १७५६) चैत्रशुक्ल द्वितीयाको दिन कान्तिपुरशहरमा यम्बुको
इलाकामा सुवर्णप्रणाली मन्ने ठाउँमा ठहिट्टी टोलमा....)

सम्बत् ८६० ब्रावणमासे शुक्लपक्षी ॥ तृतीयान्तिथौ श्रीमत्कान्तिपुर महानगरे ॥

श्रीयम्बुक्रमायं गाङ्गोलग्ये ॥ यं वु यन्ताखातोर यन्ताखावाहार

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)

(ने. सं. ८६० (वि. सं. १७६७) ब्रावण शुक्ल तृतीयाको दिन कान्तिपुर शहरमा यम्बुको हलाकामा गाङ्गोलग्यमा यन्ताखा (वर्तमान यट्खा) टोल यन्ताखावहाल (वर्तमान यट्खा बहाल) मा)

सम्बत् ८६२ कार्तिकमासे शुक्लपक्षी नवम्यान्तिथौ श्रीमत्कान्तिपुरमहानगरे ॥ श्रीयम्बु-
क्रमायं गांगुरंके वंतुटोलके....

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)

(ने. सं. ८६२ (वि. सं. १७६८) कार्तिक शुक्ल नवमीको दिन कान्तिपुर शहरमा यम्बुको हलाकामा गांगुरंक्रमा वंतु (वर्तमान वटु) टोलमा)

सम्बत् ८६६ ब्रावणमासे कृष्णपक्षी द्वादश्यान्तिथौ श्रीमत्कान्तिपुरमहानगरे ॥ श्रीयम्बु-
क्रमायं गांगुरंजे ॥ मखन टोल....

(राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयको च. ल. नं. १६४७ को पोकामा रहेको अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रबाट)

(ने. सं. ८६६ (वि. सं. १८०३) ब्रावण कृष्ण द्वादशीको दिन कान्तिपुर शहरमा यम्बुको हलाकामा गांगुरंजमा मखनटोलमा.....)

माथि दिइएका उद्धरणहरूबाट वर्तमान काठमाडौं शहरको उत्तरी भागमा पर्ने मखनटोल देखि लिएर वटुटोल, यट्खाटोल, सिगल (काठेसिम्भू) तथा ठाँहीटोलसम्मको प्रदेश यम्बुको हलाका भित्र पर्दा रहेकन् भन्ने कुरा विदित हुन्छ । परन्तु टेबहालको सट्टा शिलापत्रमा शहरको दक्षिणी भागमा पर्ने टेबहाल पनि यम्बुको हलाकाभित्र पर्ने भनी लेखिएको छ । त्यहाँका एक शिलापत्रमा पनि स्थान निर्देश गर्दा यस्तै लेखिएको छ । यताबाट टेबहाल शहरको दक्षिण भागमा परे पनि यम्बुको हलाकाभित्र पर्ने रहेछ भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ ।

“नीलो वंशावली” भनी प्रसिद्ध तिब्बती भाषामा लेखिएको ऐतिहासिक उपकरणमा पनि यङ्गोल र यम्बुको वर्णन गरिएको छ । त्यहाँ एक ठाउँमा यस्तो लेखिएको छ -

“उनी वि. सं. १११६ मा जन्मेका थिए । तेह्र वर्षको उमेरमा वास्तोन् दोर्जे र खोन्स्तोन् रिन्चेन्हरूसँग नेपालतिर हिँडे । यङ्गल (यङ्गोल) मा उनले क्रिया र योगतन्त्र पढे । तिनीहरूले यम्बुमा सट्टी योगिनी भेट्न गइरहेका मानिसहरूलाई देखे । ती तीनै तिब्बतीहरू पनि त्यहाँ गए । ती योगिनी ग्रामीणहरूले चढाएका कुरामा जीवनयापन गर्दैथिन् १८० ।

तिब्बतीहरूको सो नीलो वंशावलीमा अन्त पनि ठाउँ ठाउँमा यङ्गोल र यम्बुको उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।

विक्रमको पन्ध्रौं शताब्दीमा राजा स्थितिमल्लको पालामा लेखिएको गोपालराजवंशावली-बाट पनि त्यस बेला तथा त्यो भन्दा पहिलेदेखि नै काठमाडौं शहर यङ्गोल र यम्बु हलाकामा

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विभक्त थियो भन्ने कुरा बुझिन्छ । त्यहाँ यस्तो लेखिएको छ :-

सम्बत् ३६१ जेष्ठ शुक्ल अष्टमी यम्बु यादुम्बहार क्वाठ चाल्यका, यहू कीर्तिपाल भारोस....

(३३ पत्रबाट)

(ने. सं. ३६१ (वि. सं. १२६८) शुक्ल अष्टमीको दिन पाटनका कीर्तिपालभारोले यम्बु इलाकामित्र पर्ने यादुम्बहार (वर्तमान इटुम्बहार) को किला फोडे) ।

स. ४१६ भाद्रपद शुक्ल त्रयोदशी बुधवारकोहु तिपुर ग्वह्र यहू त्रिभेसन तंड० यङ्ग०ल यम्बु फनपिम् ध्वते ग्वह्रयाड०, वंप्पाके जारवा दिवस

(४० पत्रबाट)

(ने. सं. ४१६ (वि. सं. १३५६) भाद्रशुक्ल त्रयोदशी बुधवारको दिन त्रिपुरराजकुल, देउ-पाटन, पाटन यी तीन थरी मिली तंड० (?) यङ्ग०ल, यम्बु फर्पिड० यी तीन ठाउँमा किला बनाई वंप्पाके भन्ने ठाउँमा हमला गरे) ।

गोपालवर्षावलीमा यङ्ग०ल र यम्बुको उल्लेख अन्त पनि ठाउँ ठाउँमा आएका छन् ।

पाटनका राजा नरसिंह, पुरन्दरसिंह, उद्धवसिंहको संयुक्त शासनकालमा वि. सं. १६२२ मा लेखिएको स्वयम्भूको जीर्णोद्धारसम्बन्धी रउटा पाँचामा काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाका मुख्य मुख्य ठाउँको मोटामोटी नक्सा उतारिएको छ १६ । त्यस नक्सामा यङ्ग०ल र यम्बुको सीमाविभाजन गरी देखाइएको छ । माथि उल्लिखित ऐतिहासिक सामानहरूबाट ज्ञात भएको यङ्ग०ल र यम्बुको विभाजनसँग सो नक्साको सीमाविभाजन द्वाकै मिल्न आउँछ । सो नक्सामा यङ्ग०लको विशेषताको रूपमा मरुसतलको चित्र देखाइएको छ र यम्बुको विशेषताको रूपमा चाहिँ सेतो मत्स्येन्द्रनाथको देवल चित्रित गरिएको छ ।

यङ्ग०ल र यम्बु यी दुइ नाम 'यं' शब्दमा गल तथा बु जोडेर बनेका छन् । यसको मूल शब्द त 'यं' मात्र हो । यं भन्नाले यङ्ग०ल र यम्बु यी दुवै इलाकामित्र पर्ने प्रदेशलाई बुझाउँछ । नेवारीमा काठमाडौँलाई यं भन्ने चलन अझै हराएको छैन ।

'गल' शब्द 'ग्वल' शब्दको अपभ्रंश हो भन्ने देखिएको छ । प्राचीन नेवारीभाषामा ग्वल शब्दले टोल जस्तो कुनै सानो ठूलो विस्तार निश्चित नभएको प्रदेशलाई बुझाउँदछ । ग्वल शब्द अन्त्यमा हुने ठाउँका नाउँ लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् । यसको उदाहरणको लागि पाटन मीननाथको लिच्छवि अभिलेखलाई प्रस्तुत गर्न सकिन्छ । त्यहाँ गीग्वल तेग्वल यूग्वल आदि प्रदेशका पाँचालिकहरूको उल्लेख आएको छ ^{२०} । लिच्छविकालपक्षिको ने. सं. १३२ (वि. सं. १०६७) को पाटनको शिलालेखमा तेग्वलनामक ठाउँको चर्चा परेको छ ^{२१} । आजभोलि चाहिँ त्यस ठाउँलाई त्यागल भन्दछन् । यसै गरी काठमाडौँ जैसीदेवल नजीकैको लिच्छवि अभिलेखमा उल्लेख आएको लन्जग्वल ^{२२} मल्लकालको त्यही निरको अभिलेखमा लुंजला ^{२३} रूपमा देखापरेको छ । यसरी लिच्छविकालको 'ग्वल' पक्षि आएर गल आदि रूपमा परिवर्तित भएको

देखिन्छ । यङ्गल पनि लिच्छविकालमा यङ्गलको रूपमा स्थानीय जनभाषामा प्रचलित हुन नसक्ने देखिँदैन । 'बु' शब्द अन्त्यमा हुने ठाउँका नाम पनि लिच्छविकालमा पाइन्छन् । ध्रुवदेव र जिष्णुगुप्तको पाटन क्षिन्मस्तानिरको अभिलेखमा लेखिएको थम्बु ग्राम २४ तथा बलम्बुको द्वितीय शिवदेवको अभिलेखमा उल्लिखित सलम्बू २५ उदाहरणको लागि प्रस्तुत गर्न सकिन्छन् । यसरी संस्कृतमा दक्षिणकोलिग्राम तथा कोलिग्राम देखिए तापनि लाँकिक भाषामा लिच्छविकालमै पनि यङ्गल यम्बु भन्ने चलन चलेको अनुमान हुन्छ ।

टिप्पणी

- १। धनवज्र बुद्धाचार्य 'लिच्छविकालिक बस्ती' पूर्णिमा ५ वर्ष २ अंक १८ पूर्णाङ्क ०
(काठमाडौँ संशोधन मण्डल वि.सं. २०२५ साउन) ८७ पृष्ठ
- २। सोही ६३-६५
- ३। धनवज्र बुद्धाचार्य 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' (काठमाडौँ, नेपाल र रशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय) १०७, १११, ११७, १२४ संख्याको शिलालेख, ४०७-४०८ ४२३-४२४, ४४२-४४३, ४६३-४६४ पृष्ठ
- ४। सो पुष्पिकावाक्यमा यस्तो लेखिएको छ
 *सम्बत् ४७८ भाद्र शुद्धि १० लक्ष्मणगवति संपूर्ण दिवस..... महायानयायिनः
 परमधार्मिकः परमसर्वज्ञ शासनिक श्रीकोलिग्रामीय श्रीभास्करदेव संस्कारित इति
 श्रीकेशवचन्द्रकृतमहाविहाराधिवासिन शाक्यमिन्दु बुद्धाचार्य श्रीराजव्रत श्रीनामा
 (ने.सं. ४७८ (वि.सं. १४१५) भाद्र शुक्ल दशमीको लक्ष्मणगवती संपूर्ण सारिसिद्धियो ।
 श्रीकोलिग्राममा भास्करदेवले संस्कार गरेको केशवचन्द्रले बनाएको विहार (इटुम्बहाल) मा बस्ने बौद्धधर्मको महायान शाखाका अनुयायी ठूला धर्मात्मा शाक्यमिन्दु बौद्धधर्मका आचार्य श्रीराजव्रतश्री) ।
- ५। घ. बुद्धाचार्य 'लिच्छविकालिक वस्ती' पूर्णिमा १८ पूर्णाङ्क ६३ पृष्ठ
- ६। सोही ६१-६३ पृष्ठ
- ७। सोही ६५-६६ पृष्ठ
- ८। लुशियानो पेटेक 'मेडिएभ्ल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' (रोम, इन्स्टिट्युटो इटालियानो पर् इल मेडियो इह ओरियन्ट, इ.सं. १९५८ (वि.सं. २०१५) ४५ पृष्ठ
- ९। हेमराज शाक्य र टि. आर्. वैद्य 'मेडिएभ्ल नेपाल' (काठमाडौँ वि.सं. २०२७) पृष्ठ १२
- १०। 'काष्ठमण्डपः' संस्कृतसन्देश १ वर्ष ६ अंक (काठमाडौँ वि.सं. २०१०) ४-५ पृष्ठ
- ११। डि.आर्. रेग्मी 'मेडिएभ्ल नेपाल' (कलकत्ता: फर्मा के.एल् मुखोपाध्याय इ.सं. १९६६)
वि.सं. २०२३) ४ भाग २० पृष्ठ

६८ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

१२। शंकरमान राजवंशी 'कान्तिपुर - शिलालेख - सूची' (काठमाडौं राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालय

श्री ५ को सरकार शि.मं. पुरातत्व विभाग वि.सं. २०२७) ६३ पृष्ठ

१३। सोही ६६ पृष्ठ

१४। शाक्य र वैद्य 'मेडिएमल् नेपाल' ४ पृष्ठ

१५। पेटेक 'मेडियामल् हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल' ७४ पृष्ठ

१६। राजवंशी 'कान्तिपुर - शिलालेख - सूची' ७५ पृष्ठ

१७। सोही ४६ पृष्ठ

१८। ब्लु आनलस् २ भाग ८४१-८५०

१९। डा० म्यारी स्लसरको सौज्यन्यबाट मैले सो पाँवाको फोटो हेर्न पाएको हुं । जसको लागि म उहाँ प्रति कृतज्ञ छु ।

२०। घ. वज्राचार्य 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' १४६ संख्या ५४३-५४४ पृष्ठ

२१। रामजी तेवारी र अरू 'अभिलेख - संग्रह' (काठमाडौं २०२० वैशाख) ६ भाग, २४-२५ पृष्ठ

२२। घ. वज्राचार्य 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' १४७ संख्या ५४७ पृष्ठ

२३। जैसीदेवल नगीचै रहेको ल्हुगवहालमित्र भित्तामा टांगीएको अप्रकाशित ताम्रपत्रमा यस्तो लेखिएको छ :-

'श्रीकाष्ठमण्डपमहानगरे दक्षिणादिश लुंजगलत्वर..... श्रीश्रीशिवसिंहदेव ठाकुरस
विजयराज्ये'

(काठमाडौं शहरमा दक्षिणातिर लुंजगल टोलमा..... श्रीश्रीशिवसिंहदेव ठाकुरको
विजयराज्यमा) ।

२४। घ. वज्राचार्य 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' १०५ संख्या ४०१-४०२ पृष्ठ

२५। सोही १४३ संख्या, ५३०-५३२ पृष्ठ

A Leaf From the Bendall

"Vamśāvalī"¹

Thakurlal Manandhar

The language of the mss. in question is difficult. One part is written in debased Sanskrit and the other part in old Newari. Bendall borrowed the mss. and it was taken to London for research. One consequence of this was Bendall's article 'The History of Nepal and Surrounding Kingdoms' ². The same article was also inserted in the first volume of Mahamahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Shastri's catalogue of mss. in the Durbar Library ³.

There occurs on one of the leaves of the mss. the sentence - tatpascād bhotarājenamāyati rājyam karoti nepālamandale - which is omitted by Professor Bendall in his article. But later, Professor Petech, in his book, "The Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480)", ⁴made an attempt to make sense of the sentence.

Professor Petech read: "tatpascād Bhotarāja-Namoyātiḥ Nepālamandale rājyam karoti": which he translated: After (the reign of Vasantadeva) the Tibetan king Namoyāti (?) ruled over Nepal".

He construed the sentence to mean that a Tibetan king came and ruled the country because the word Bhot is used nowadays in Nepali to mean Tibet. However he also misread the text as 'Bhotarāja-Namoyātiḥ' instead of 'bhotarājenamāyati' and this created another difficulty for him. After searching in the literature of Tibet to find out whether a king of this name appears anywhere he concluded: 'but there is nothing in the Tibetan texts about conquests in Nepal' at that time. He was forced to indulge in conjectures which seem quite irrelevant in this context.

Although I myself had the unexpected privilege of reading out the mss. to Professor Petech sometime during the summer of 1956 in the Bir Library itself, this sentence escaped my notice simply because I was not asked to translate it. What Professor Petech wanted to find out from my reading seemed to be only verification of the dates which he had jotted down in his notebook beforehand. And so it was that I did not pay attention to the sentence at that time. Later, when his book was published, I noticed his wrong interpretation, but it was too late. So afterwards in 1966 when I was in Rome for a short trip from Kiel, West Germany, I met Professor Petech and made some suggestions to correct this and a few other mistakes for a future edition of his book.

The correct reading of the sentence is "tatpascād bhotarājenamāyati rājyam karoti Nepālamandale". nam is Newari ablative case-ending signifying 'from' and rāje is just a Newari variant of Sanskrit rajya since 'ya' is pronounced ye by Newari speakers. So it transpires that the sentence is a mixture of poor Sanskrit and Newari. 'Mo' is a misreading for 'ma' in Professor Petech's transcription. This is easily made, for, in Newari script, the

headline over mā, if it looks straight, is to be read mā; but, if it is curved, should be read 'mo'. Thus the correct reading of the sentence means literally that somebody (a king) comes from the Kingdom of Bhota and rules over Nepal.

However, the difficulty for a historian is not yet solved. The question arises as to what the word 'Bhota' implies in this context. If one reads through other Newari portions of the same mss., the answer becomes clear. The word 'Bhota' is met with frequently in many other contexts, such as "Bhota or Bhonta (a variant spelling) dāmana wā ke teochhi kāye mado" meaning that the cost of rice shot up so much that one dāma of Bhota or Bhonta currency could not fetch even four manas (measure) of it. This is written when describing the intensity of suffering of the people in the year 466 Nepal era (1346 A.D.) in the region of Banepa, Panauti and the neighbouring villages which had fallen victims to famine or siege. So 'Bhonta dāma' implies a currency of Bhonta and indicates the existence of a state called Bhonta or Bhota.

Students of Nepalese history are aware of the fact that Nepal sometime after Amshuvarman was split into two half-kingdoms in the days of the Lichchavis and the Thakuris; one half being 'yem'⁵ (the Northern Kingdom) and the other being 'yela' (the Southern Kingdom). So we find two kingdoms in the Lichchavi period of Nepalese history, one major and the other minor as indicated by such expressions as vijayarājya and ardharājya respectively. Historians like K.P. Jayaswal have described this kind of joint-rule as the Dvairājya system. Coming down to the early mediaeval period, we again find two kingdoms sometimes joint and at other times disjoint as indicated by such terms as 'Bhonta' and 'Gwanla', the one major and the other minor. In this case 'Bhonta' designated the eastern kingdom and 'Gwanla' the western kingdom.

Expressions like 'Bhonta rājyenamāyati rājyam karoti nepālamandale' (rājye here is Sanskrit spelling for raje), 'bhonta yā gwanlam āya mathyākatom'⁷ and 'bhonta yā gwanlan āya thyākatom'⁸ (these are pure Newari expressions) are met with in the same manuscript. Gwanla indicates the kingdom of Nepal (expressed in Sanskrit as Nepālamandala): the capital of this part, i.e. the western kingdom happened to be the town of Deo Patan which is still called in modern Newari 'Gwanla'; and Bhonta indicates the eastern kingdom with its capital in the city of Banepa, which is still called in modern Newari 'Bhonta'.

Another case in point is the appellation of 'Bhonta' to chiefs who came from or had their origin in the eastern kingdom of 'Bhonta'. The name of king Jaya Bhimadeva (1258-1271) was preceded by this appellation (previous to his accession): Bhonta Shri Jaya Bhimadeva. Many other chiefs from that kingdom had the same epithet prefixed to their names, for instance, Bhonta Jaya Shaktideva (the grandson of king Jaya Bhimadeva), Bhonta Shri Jaya Rajadeva (before he was

crowned king), Bhonta Shri Shri Jayārjundeva (after his dethronement), Bhonta Jaya Simha Rama (previously a Prime minister of Banepa royal family, later, a feudatory of king Jayasthiti Malla). etc.

This kingdom of Bhonta lost its identity as a separate state by itself only on Friday, Nov. 23rd 1380 A.D., when king Jayārjuna deva, the last of the Banepa royal line was made to enter into his own kingdom (mahajātrā yānga thawa rāja Bināpyā kwatha dumbijyācakatom, as the Newari portion of the Vamsavali puts it) with honour and dignity, though deprived of power as a major king. Twenty-two days after that when he came to the fort or castle at Gokarna with an evil design to get back to power, his plan was nipped in the bud and he had to remain virtually a prisoner, in a house called Tripurakwachhen (in Bhatgaon), where he died a year after on Feb. 3rd, 1382 A.D. The sympathetic tone with which the chronicler ends his narrative in the Sanskrit portion of the Vamsavali deserves notice. In a document written ten years after, in the year 511 N.E. (1391 A.D.) Jaya Simha Rama was referred to with the appellation as Shri Shri Bhonta (Bhuwanta) rājakula mahāmātya, meaning prime minister of the Bhonta Royal House while the Kingdom of Bhonta remained under his protection as a dependent state, acknowledging the formal suzerainty of king Jayasthitimalla. It was still considered to be an honour and prestige to make mention of his having had such connection with the defunct royal house in the past, with double Shri Shri as a mark of respect for the royal house though Jaya Simha Rama was ruling that part of the country at the time as a feudatory of king Jayasthitimalla. An end-leaf of the manuscript 'kriyā samuccaya' in the Kaiser Library reads as follows:

सम्बत् ५११ कार्तिक शुक्ल अमावास्यापर प्रतिपदा सूर्य ग्रास स्वाति नदात्र आदित्यवार
श्रीश्री भुवन्त राजकुल श्रीपिलाखवोस महामात्य श्रीमदनराम वर्धनस्य भार्या जेत्र लक्ष्मी परीसन
डंडा श्रीजेत्रवर महाविहारया दन ध्वजा पर्यन्त श्रीश्रीश्री बजासन भट्टारक प्रतिष्ठा कनक
कलश ध्वजारोहन जिमनेन्हू लदाहुति याडो श्रीश्री उमे राजकुल एकत्व खड्ग सहितन मूल
आचार्य राजगुरु पण्डित श्री महावोध्य भद्रस कर्म आचार्य भ्रातृ बजाचार्य श्री भोजजुस श्रीमत्
श्रीश्री सप्त दीपाङ्कुर तथागत आदि न परिक्रम जात्रा जुव थ्व स्थनस राजाधिराज परमेश्वर
परम भट्टारक श्रीश्री जयस्थिति राजमल्ल देवस्य विजयराज्ये श्रीश्री भुवन्त राजकुल महामात्य
श्रीजयसिंह रामस्य प्रतिपालित राज्ये शुभम् ।

(Note in the document, the specific use of 'ubhaya rāja kula ekatva' as an adjectival phrase for the King's Sword to indicate the merger of the two kingdoms lit. the two Royal Houses. This

tradition of installing this Royal Symbol on such big ceremonial occasions to signify the august presence of His Majesty is still observed nowadays in this country).

It seems quite probable that the Sanskrit form of Bhonta is Bhunkti. The same mss. states: samasta nepāla shri jaya rudra malla eva navakota bhunkti paryanta rāja kritam meaning that when Jaya Rudra Malla became all powerful he ruled the whole of Nepal which extended even up to Navakota and Bhunkti, after he had his own kinsman Jayarimalla deva crowned king (1320-1344). Even the expression 'rāja Bhukti mātram dadau' can mean that the newly enthroned king (Jayāri Malla) was given only Bhunkti as his domain since there is every possibility that Bhukti and Bhunkti are just variants in spelling. It may be interesting for a historian to note that another neighbouring state founded originally by Nānya-deva was named 'tri bhukti' which afterwards got corrupted into modern 'Tirhut'.

Footnotes

1. The Bendall Vamsāvalī, afterwards named as Gopālarāja Vamsāvalī in the list prepared by the Bir Library. This article is based on my reading of the copy printed in 'Himavat Sanskriti, year 1, no. 1.
2. C. Bendall- The History of Nepal and Surrounding Kingdoms (1000-1600), compiled chiefly from mss. lately discovered. Written as an historical introduction to Pandit Haraprasād Sāstri's catalogue of the Nepal Durbar Library. With chronological tables and a plate facsimiles of mss. JASB Vol. LXXII, Pt. I (History, Antiquities, etc.), 1903 pp. 1-32.
3. H.P. Shastri - Catalogue of palm-leaf and selected paper manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, with historical introduction by Prof. Cecil Bendall. Calcutta (The Baptist Mission Press), 1905. Vol. 1.
4. See Luciano Petech, Mediaeval History of Nepal (c.750-1480), Roma, ISMEO, 1958, p. 29.
- 5,6. In old Newari yem means north, ye means south.
7. During the reign of King Ananta Malla in the year 427 N.E. (1307 A.D.) the king left 'Gwanla' for 'Bhonta' and after a year he died. His funeral rites were not performed until 4 days later. After that the 'Gwanla' kingdom remained separate or disjoint (excluding the 'Bhonta' kingdom).
8. Again in the year 468 N.E. (1348 A.D.) Jaya Rājadeva was crowned king in Gwanla and from that time onwards 'Bhonta' was admitted into the kingdom of 'Gwanla' or linked to it, 'ubhaya rājakula ekatva', as the Kaisher Vamsāvalī puts it. See p. 14 in the Kaisher fragment of the Vamsāvalī (in Kaiser Library), no. 171.

टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ

संसारको इतिहासमा उहिले दास-प्रथाको अनेकरूप हामी पाउँछौं । तिनमध्ये देवदासी-प्रथा पनि एक हो भन्न सकिन्छ । देवदास, देवदासी प्रथा अरू दासप्रथाभन्दा अलि भिन्न खालको छ । देवमन्दिरमा सफा सुगन्ध गर्ने, आरतीको वेला देवमूर्तिसमक्ष भक्तिपूर्वक गाना गाउने र नृत्य गर्ने कामको निमित्त युवक युवतीलाई देवदास देवदासीको रूपमा अर्पण गर्ने प्रचलन थियो, यसलाई देवदास देवदासी प्रथा भनिन्छ । यसको उदाहरण नेपाल, भारत आदि देशका धार्मिक इतिहासमा हामी पाउँछौं । प्राचीन बेबीलोनिया, मेसोपोटामिया, ग्रीस आदि पश्चिमी देशमा पनि एक किसिमका नर्तकीहरू मन्दिरहरूमा रहेको उल्लेख पाइन्छ ^१ । दासप्रथा प्रायः आर्थिक कारणको उपज हो भने देवदास देवदासी प्रथा चार्हि धार्मिक कारणको उपज हो भन्नामा अत्युक्ति नहोला ।

भारतमा मौर्यकालमा यस प्रथाको अस्तित्व भएको प्रमाण पाइन्छ । कौटिल्यको अर्थ-शास्त्रमा सूत्राध्यक्षा प्रकरणमा सूत्राध्यक्षाले अनाथ कन्या, अंगहीन व्यक्ति, विधवा तथा देव-मन्दिरबाट बहिष्कृत देवदासी आदिद्वारा धागो कताउने काम लिने कुराको उल्लेख छ ^२ । यसबाट त्यस समयमा देवदासीहरू माथि नियम लागू थिए औ नियम उलङ्घन गरेमा देवस्थलबाट बहिष्कृत हुने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

देवदास, देवदासी प्रथाको प्रचलन दक्षिण तथा उत्तर भारत दुवैतिर रहेको देखिन्छ । काश्मीरका कवि कल्हणले आफ्नो प्रसिद्ध पुस्तक 'राजतरंगिणी' मा देवदासी प्रथाको उल्लेख धेरै ठाउँमा गरेका छन् ^३ । त्यसबाट देवदासी प्रथामा क्रमशः अन्तर आएको कुराको संकेत पाइन्छ । योबाहेक भारतको इतिहासमा देवदासीसम्बन्धी अनेक अरू पनि उल्लेख पाइन्छ ^४ ।

नेपालमा पनि लिच्छवि कालमा देवदास देवदासी प्रथाको अस्तित्व थियो भन्ने प्रमाण प्रकाशमा आइसकेको छ । इसवी सातौं शताब्दीका लिच्छवि राजा नरेन्द्रदेवको अनन्त-लिङ्गेश्वरको अभिलेखले यस विषयमा निकै प्रकाश पार्छ ^५ । भक्तपुर सूर्य विनायक देखि दक्षिण पट्टि अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वर भन्ने स्थान पर्दछ । लिच्छवि कालमा यस भेकमा हंसगृहद्रुङ्ग नामक प्रसिद्ध बस्ती थियो । सो हंसगृहद्रुङ्गको इलाकामित्र 'लोकपाल स्वामी' नामक प्रसिद्ध देवताको मन्दिर थियो । नेपालका प्रसिद्ध देवतामा यी लोकपाल स्वामी पनि पर्दथे । अंशु-वर्माको हाँडिगाउँको अभिलेखमा 'हंसगृहदेवस्य पु ३ प. १ भनी यी लोकपालस्वामीलाई सम्मान स्वरूप भाग कुट्याइएको छ ^६ । त्यसताका वैष्णव देवतालाई 'स्वामी' भन्ने चलन थियो । अंशुवर्माको हाँडिगाउँको अभिलेखमा चाँगु नारायणलाई 'दोलाशिखरस्वामी' भनिएको छ ^७ । यसरी यी लोकपाल स्वामी वैष्णव देवता हुन् भन्ने देखिएको छ । हंसगृहद्रुङ्गका यी लोकपाल

१०४ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

स्वामीको पूजा आजा, वार्षिक यात्रा आदि धूमधामसँग हुन्थ्यो भन्ने देखिएको छ । यहाँ हुने विधि विधान आदिको देखेको लागि एकजना कुलपति नै नियुक्त हुन्थे भन्ने कुरा पनि अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वरको सो अभिलेखाबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । सो देवमन्दिरमा सफाई आदि गर्न र आरतीको बेला नृत्य आदिको लागि दश जना देवदास र बीस जना देवदासीहरू रहेको उल्लेख अभिलेखमा आएको छ । ती देवदास, देवदासीहरूलाई दिइने नगद र जिन्सी आर्थिक अनुदानको पनि चर्चा त्यस अभिलेखमा परेको छ । देवदासहरूलाई १४० मानिका धान, १२० पुराण र देवदासीहरूलाई ३६० मानिका धान, ८० पुराण आर्थिक अनुदान तोकिएको छ ।

यस वणनिबाट लिच्छविकालमा प्रसिद्ध देवमन्दिरमा देवदास, देवदासीहरू हुन्थे, उनीहरूलाई आर्थिक अनुदान पर्याप्त दिइएको हुन्थ्यो इत्यादि कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ ।

लिच्छविकालको समाजमा 'दास प्रथाको' अस्तित्व थियो तापनि सामान्य रूपमा मात्र थियो, विशेष रूपमा थिएन भन्ने कुरा यस प्रसङ्गमा स्मरणिय छ । आवश्यक काम कुरा ग्रामपाँचालीको रूपमा गोष्ठीको रूपमा संगठित भई गर्ने चलन त्यस बेला हुनाले समाजमा दासहरूको उत्तिको आवश्यक नपरेको देखिन्छ । उपर्युक्त देवदास, देवदासीहरू पनि मन्दिरमा सरसफाई आरतीको बेला नृत्य आदिको लागि आवश्यक भएर मात्र राखिएका हुन् भन्ने कुरा तिनीहरूको निश्चित संख्या तोकिएको हुनाले थाहा पाइन्छ ।

जे होस्: लिच्छविकालमा प्रसिद्ध देवमन्दिरमा देवदास, देवदासीहरू हुन्थे भन्ने कुरा चाहिँ निश्चित छ । लिच्छविकालका प्रसिद्ध देवमन्दिरमध्ये अधिकांश देवमन्दिर मध्यकालमा पनि थिए । मध्यकालमा ती देवमन्दिरमा देवदास, देवदासीहरूको अस्तित्व थियो कि थिएन भन्ने प्रश्न स्वभावतः उठ्छ । यस विषयमा अहिले सम्म कुनै केही प्रकाश पारिएको छैन । हालसालै नेपाल तथा रशियाली अध्ययन संस्थानबाट गरिएको ऐतिहासिक खोजको सिलसिलामा पशुपति मण्डारमा पाइएको ताम्रपत्रबाट यस विषयमा प्रकाश परेको छ । मध्यकालको अन्त्य र आधुनिक कालको शुरूसम्म पनि पशुपतिको मन्दिरमा देवदासीहरूको अस्तित्व रहेको थियो भन्ने कुराको निष्कर्ष सो ताम्रपत्रबाट भएको छ । विचारार्थ देवदासी सम्बन्धी अप्रकाशित ताम्रपत्रको उतार यहाँ दिइन्छ ।

श्रीपशुपतिर्जयति

- १। ओम् अथ श्वेतवाराहकल्पेत्यादि ॥ आषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे च-
- २। तुष्यतिथौ अश्लेषानक्षत्रे वज्रयोगे यथाकरण मुहूर्तके-
- ३। मिथुनराशिगते सवितरि कर्कटराशिगते चन्द्रमसि ॥ आत्रेय
- ४। गोत्रः श्रीबालकृष्णदेवशर्मा सपुत्र श्री ३ पशुपतिभट्टार-
- ५। कम्प्रीतये इमे नकु गुणावती नाम्न्यौ दास्यौ देवदासीत्वेन
- ६। संप्रदत्तौ ॥ ॥ अथ भाषा ॥ स्वस्ति श्री शाके १६६५ आषाढ शु-
- ७। द्दि'चतुर्थीका दिनमाहा भीरकोट्या श्रीबालकृष्ण उपाध्याले-

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- ८। श्री ५ पशुपतिनाथका चरणतल दुई गोटी कमारी नकु गुण भन्याकी ने -
९। वानीकिन श्री ५ पशुपतिनाथका देवदासी गरी चढायौ इनमाथी पुजारी -
१०। भट्टहस्को लाग नास्ति ॥ साक्षी श्री हरिहर उपाध्याका पात्रे
११। भाईका ॥ साक्षी भगवतीवन गोसाई ॥ लेखक श्री दुर्गनाथ भट्टाचार्य
१२। इन दु ऐकन जो हरण गरला तस्कन पंचमहा पातक होला ॥ ॥
दायाँकेरमा - साक्षी श्री वीरभद्र राणा ॥ शुभ
बायाँकेरमा - साक्षी पुत्र श्री षडानन उपाध्या ॥

यस ताम्रपत्रमा भीरकोटवासी श्री बालकृष्ण उपाध्यायले नकु र गुणवती नाम गरेकी दुइवटी नेवानीं कमारीलाई देवदासीको रूपमा पशुपतिनाथ प्रीति गरी वि.सं. १८३० आषाढ शुद्ध चतुर्थीको दिन अर्पण गरेको वर्णन छ ।

श्री पशुपति भण्डारको ताम्रपत्र संग्रहमा संवत् १८६३ सालको अर्को एक ताम्रपत्र पनि पाइएको छ । सो ताम्रपत्रको सम्बन्ध देवदासी प्रथासँग हैन तापनि दास-मोचन गर्ने एक चलन-लाई यसले दर्शाउँछ । त्यसमा बुद्धिरेखा गोदारनीले पशुपतिनाथमा थाल, बटुको पन्यु, आदि भाँडा कुँडाको साथ सुनको गहना आफ्नो पेवाको केही सम्पत्ति चढाउँदा १५ रूपियाँमा किनेको घनावती नाम गरेकी कमारीलाई दासमोचन गरेको कुरासमेत स्पष्ट उल्लेख गरिएको छ । यस कारण यो ताम्रपत्रले देवमन्दिरमा गई विधिपूर्वक दास-मोचन गर्ने प्रथालाई अँगल्याएको हुनाले विचारार्थ यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ ।

श्री दुर्गाज्यू

श्री पशुपति

- १। स्वस्ति श्री शाके १७२८ श्री सम्बत १८६३ साल मिति आश्विन शुक्ल पंचमी ५ गुरूवा-
२। सरे तद्दिने लिखित श्री बुद्धिरेखा गोदारिनी आगे मेरा पेवा घनमध्ये मेरा ग-
३। लाका विजवन्द समेत सुनको विज लोतहा, थाल, बटुको, पनिउ, डाडु को-
४। परा, दियो, थाक्राँ काँग्यो, बुल्यासि स्यागी गागृ णकडो यति वस्तु श्री पशुपतिमा

- ५। प्रीति ग-याँ घनावति कमारि मेरा पेवा १५ रूपैयाँले किन्याकि पार ग-
६। रि दियो यस पत्रका साक्षि मेरा छोरा राजवल थापा र छोरी ३ बुहारि ६ ।
७। नानि २ समेत उद्यतदेव नारायण पाध्या हुंगाना कविराज भंडारि
८। रति घनमा लोभानि पापानि जो गर्ल श्री ५ पशुपतिका कुट्टिष्टि पंचमा-
९। हापातक लागला पत्रलेषक साक्षि शक्तिबल्लव देवकोटा इति शु-

१०। ममस्तु

यसरी पशुपति भण्डारमा रहेका यी दुई ताम्रपत्रले देवदासी प्रथा, दासमोचन प्रथामा केही नयाँ प्रकाश पारेका छन् ।

Linguistics and Development

In Nepal

Les Troyer

0. Introduction

Man has designed ways where by he can now stand taller than a giraffe, travel faster than a gazelle and tunnel deeper down into the earth than any rodent ¹. This has become possible not because he has grown a longer neck, swifter legs or sharper claws, but because he possesses certain faculties which make him uniquely man. One of these skills is the human language skill as a communications medium. Without the every day use of human language the further development of science and technology as well as the dynamics of routine living would soon grind into one massive deadlock.

This daily use of language is one of man's most valuable possessions because it is his most important communication system. Despite the valuable role it plays in man's affairs, language continues not only to be poorly understood, but basic misconceptions about it abound on every hand - even among well educated people ².

The science of linguistics is the study of human language. Anyone who wishes to know himself and the society in which he functions must acquire to some degree an understanding of this linguistic system that plays such a fundamental part of his daily life. This same truth must also be applied on the national level. No nation can truly understand its socio-cultural foundations without a grasp of its linguistic heritage and character. Linguistic science provides the tools toward acquiring of such knowledge.

The desires for better living conditions, the search for more food to feed the growing masses of people, the need for constantly up-grading the education systems, and the continued quests for strengthening political integrity and stability challenges science and human ingenuity in every nation more today than at any point in history. Leaders of nations are accepting the tools that science offers to grapple with these impending, complex issues. Since interest and progress in linguistic science has grown by leaps and bounds over the past two decades, it is, therefore, only normal to be asked in what ways this nation building and development in general and to Nepal in particular is lending its assistance to the above stated needs and aspirations.

Under the wise and able leadership of His Majesty King Birendra his government and the people of Nepal have initiated many diverse programs of development for the country. These projects are geared to meet the basic socio-economic needs of the country and its development as a modern nation. And underlying all such effort must

be the important apriori foundation strata of careful scientific research to provide scope, rationale, motivations, direction, control and evaluation procedures for development schemes. Such vitally important research can only flourish where the right sympathetic and psychological climate and the physical and financial provisions exist for research. If such are not present, research flounders: and development slows down because the flow of key information is impeded, inspiration begins to wane, ideas shrivel, theories atrophy and momentum dissipates.

Realizing these important facts and also believing that the science of linguistics has an important contribution to national progress, former Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, Dr. Trailokya Nath Uprety initiated a joint program with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (an international voluntary agency) to begin a serious research program and to assist in developing linguistic facilities in Nepal. The needs as interpreted by the University were of the following nature: data collecting and processing on the languages of Nepal, publishing information on the findings of such research, assistance in teaching and producing Nepali linguists, and building a linguistic center on the University campus at Kirtipur.

Listed below is a brief projection of ways and means in which linguistics as a science and competent research may contribute to development in Nepal. Following that projection is a summary of linguistic projects accomplished to date and programs envisaged for the future.

I. The Linguistic Configuration of Nepal

Basic to the language picture of Nepal is Sanskrit with its linguistic-cultural heritage extending back in history at least to the Lichhavi period and King Mahadeva's rule (436 A.D.)³. Its significant body of literature and influence has left an indelible mark both on the languages and on the national culture of the country. It is an extraordinary heritage to be cherished, protected and to be kept close to national consciousness for the sake of national cultural homogeneity.

Superimposed on this Sanskrit base in Nepal are languages of at least two of the world's major language families - Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Aryan. Added to these is at least one language of the Dravidian family. Recent studies by SIL scholars confirmed what Dor Bahadur Bista had posited that the Dhangar language is Dravidian⁴. (Use of the term "superimposed" is not meant in a historically-chronological sense but in terms of relationship in scope and depth of influence).

Although national census reports usually give fairly reliable indications of linguistic diversities, they seldom yield the kind

of accurate detail data upon which serious linguistic judgments can be made. Only a thorough linguistic survey done in a systematic way with intelligibility testings between language communities will produce such information. To date, staff linguists have identified approximately forty mutually unintelligible languages still being spoken in Nepal. This inventory does not include many dialects of a plus 75% cognate relationship factor which coexist as satellites around the particular distinct language cores.

This wide disparate array of languages indicates an equally wide diversity of cultures since languages are unique parts of their specific cultures; and these cultures join to form the warp and woof of the country. These diverse languages are an important field of data and largely unmined information needing research to feed into national development input.

II. Some Benefits Gained from Linguistic Research

All scientific theories are constantly being exposed to change and revision as they collide with anomalies, new data and unique circumstances of application and so on. As tools of research in an empirical science such as linguistics, the structuring and revising of theory actually never really ends. Working with live language data challenges previously accepted concepts, sharpens or even in some cases discredits theories; hence constantly stimulating the revisions which in turn produce additional precision and give birth to new thought and concept paradigms. Therefore, the science itself is, perhaps, the first to gain from its own research and refining processes. However, more practical benefits are of the following nature:

a. Provides insights into social structure. Plato sought for what he posited were universals of truth underlying the Greek language ⁵. Considering all other languages barbarian and unfit for study, he missed the immense value of cross linguistic-cultural studies which most certainly would have yielded some clues to facts about language universals and to the Greek. His psychological myopia prejudiced him and consequently restricted him from realizing that man, regardless of language or culture, has language as his most valuable possession and as such is a key to understanding man in his own unique cultural-social milieu.

To direct attention only to the main or majority languages invites missing extremely important information in much the same way Plato missed it. Science in principle insists on examining all the data. And the conscience of science cannot nowadays afford to ignore or withhold from its own country and leaders any knowledge where such information can be of practical value toward nation building and progress for its people. Furthermore, there can be no true progress and development without some understanding of a nation's social-cultural structure(s). There can be no

dependable accurate understanding of a nation's basic structures without using the specific language(s) as the medium to the heart of the related culture(s).

To be more specific, consider the following:

1. Information on phenomena surrounding multi-language contact points. Because of the multiplicity of languages and constant demographic shifts in Nepal, people of different languages are thrown into contact in a variety of different ways and on varying levels. A number of questions immediately present themselves for attention: What are the social ramifications at such contact points where two or more languages meet? What levels of social structure are affected and how, to what degree? Which language becomes the dominant one; why? Is it predictable? What parts of the subdominant language group are most easily affected? Is there commensurate change in other aspects of the culture? In what ways is the spreading and learning of the national language affected?

It is in the broad psychological and socio-cultural setting that languages in contact can really best be understood and conditions emerging from such contacts best be evaluated ⁶. Research into this phenomena is possible only through and in the respective languages in contact; any other medium is unreliable, yielding only suspect data.

2. Insights into the aspects of language and culture change. The inductive methods of research in science where arguments are derived from observed facts and built into theories which in turn are subjected again and again to experiment apparently had their beginnings with Hobb's doctrine of "cause and effect" where he insisted that if certain laws such as Newton's laws of motion are true, then all inherent consequences can be logically and mathematically deduced ⁷. Hence any processes of discovery in nature and life processes had to be an act of supposition, assuming that the course of nature pretty well follows a uniform pattern into the future. And this carries over into language research too.

Languages are part of the on-going natural life processes. Languages and cultures change constantly as they move in the time spectrum because man changes. He is continually becoming a different person for his daily experiences always vary as part of the dynamic natural life processes. Social conditions change, contacts between classes of people shift and races touch and go. Ideas, concepts, opinions are traded, shared and sold. And with language change comes cultural change. It usually involves not only new elements added but also elimination of previous existing elements and modifications and reorganization of other aspects of the culture.

Labov gives clues to what may initiate such change: "the underlying initiation of change may be simply in one or more words

in a speech event between two people or it may be broader. They may be induced by processes of assimilation, differentiation, analogy, borrowings, fusion, random variations and so on". Labov has also proven that social factors have a direct bearing on linguistic change which was discovered through linguistic evidence ⁸.

For government planners, education officials and official administrators such insights and gathering of information can be of great value in policy formation and administration. It is important that attention be paid to the agents and processes of change phenomena and medium for eliciting data needed on change agents, processes and results.

3. Insights into inter-cultural communication systems. How is new information accepted, processed, conveyed and retained in a given culture? How is old information used? How is evidence gathered, weighed, and how are verdicts formed and solutions found? What part, if any, do special stylistic features of language play in successful communications within households, extended family groups, within the village, the panchayat, the District and Zone in Nepal?

Language style is influenced by cultural factors and affects choice of vocabulary, the degree to which classical words or more colloquial ones are used. Some speech must be tailored toward more vagueness to achieve culturally demanded courtesies, while other needs to be blunt and forceful. Hence knowledge of this part of language is also extremely useful.

b. Helps formulate appreciation for the historical background of the nation. Man's personality is the combination of his biological heritage, physical environment and cultural conditioning. His ideologies grow from these combined forces to form the nation state. The nation state creates the spirit of nationalism and belonging to a defined socio-political structural unit. His government provides a canopy and climate for him within which he can live and function ⁹. Man talks and communicates his experiences, thoughts, hopes, fears and allegiances within this national matrix. He transmits his accumulated knowledge to his children by means of oral sounds, Others listen and comprehend and respond in various ways to the speech-event stimuli.

In development of countries like Nepal with widely disparate languages many people tend to feel that political and economic questions are the basic ones to be asked. Linguistic-cultural questions are of equal importance ¹⁰. Historically, the cultural unity of many nations has been superimposed by political fusion of disparate language groups into one nation state. To achieve a sense of cultural homogeneity and a common sense of national identity and to keep that sense alive and fruitful remains a viable political challenge to leaders and administrators alike in such situations.

Linguistic research can assist in producing national homogeneity and the common sense of belonging by providing in-depth information and understanding of basic behavioural aspects of the disparate language groups which information in turn can be transmitted into the practical functions of empathy, understanding, and caution needed by administrators serving in areas populated by diverse or minority cultures.

c. Helps to provide for the purposes of both formal and informal education, formulation of the historic cultural, substance of a country. Many nations have done excellent, thorough, systematic research into this area of the history of their countries. The Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City is a superb example. It contains a detailed display of the country's diverse cultural heritage. However, this information has not just remained behind the walls of the exhibitions. The government has included it in the general educational text and reference materials of the schools to raise interest and to stimulate pride for their heritage and thus further cement the bonds of national unity. This consciousness of belonging to a past with its greatness has become a strong integrating force of Mexico as well as has been done by nations like Peru, the Philippines, Indonesia, etc.

d. Helps define language-culture boundaries. Dialect and language atlases can be a very helpful tool in the hands of government planners and administrators. In a sense every word, like every social convention or cultural artifact, has its own history. In a broader sense, then, languages have their own history, character and unique features. These are most evident at their language area core. Unfortunately language areas have peripheries where they have been exposed to erosion at contact points with other languages and dialects. Hence language and dialect boundaries are seldom sharply definable.

In Nepal this is no exception. Language research, of course, is the key to solving this linguistic-boundary puzzle. And a survey of the kind needed to produce a reliable atlas will take years of data collecting and processing. Realizing this, the language committee of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies presented a detailed plan to the University administration for initiating such a comprehensive survey.

e. Helps Preserve Language-Cultural Data. In many nations today the fast pace of modernization is burying immense quantities of important artifacts of language and culture which are then lost forever to posterity. As national languages spread knowledge of local languages and dialects are lost, folk lore is forgotten, and local customs die. Realizing that there is nothing that will so readily give unity to divergent peoples as a common language, the importance of the role of the national language is not here being minimized. Rather the need for retaining information about languages and culture being phased out because of the modernizing and

developing processes is pointed out and emphasized. Once lost, such important information is no longer retrievable, leaving a great void in the history of a nation! Linguistic research and archiving can serve this need.

f. Provides means for strengthening national integration and education. Chomsky states that: "one goal of education must be to enable the student to develop his capacity for creative use of languages as part of successful adaptation of themselves and their communities in the continuously changing circumstances and characteristics of contemporary life. Linguistics must address itself to that goal" 11. Nationalism is nurtured and perpetuated through indoctrination by various social and religious institutions within the society and by the schools. Nationalism also provides a good part of the drive and motivation behind creativity of the people within a given society.

By giving opportunity for a beginning reader to learn to read through the medium of his own language first, where such materials are available; his own mother tongue can then be used creatively to shift more quickly and more easily into the national language when he has achieved functional literacy skills. This does not necessarily perpetuate his own language in competition with the national language, but rather makes transition into learning the national language easier and provides a consequent deeper and quicker appreciation for the national language and for learning to read materials in that language. The end results naturally are better integration and provision for the combined forces of local creativeness and nationalism to assert themselves in fruitfully acceptable ways.

Linguistics research can assist this aspect of development by accepting the challenge for basic analysis of the various languages, reducing the sound systems to practical orthographies designed to fit into the devanagiri system and provide sketches of the respective grammars and syntaxes for the elementary primer readers needed in diglot form to transfer to the national language.

Townsend 12 has written a detailed study of the success of such a program in the Caucasus where the Russian government came to grips with the problems of bilingualism as a tool for national integration of its disparate language groups. Many other countries have and are using bilingual education approaches effectively in this way.

g. Miscellaneous practical benefits. How does man's mind function that enables him to accumulate and store information and organize experiences and thoughts into communicable form? We do not understand what is at the root of this skill, but we do know, as mentioned previously, of the vital importance of this ability in the affairs of every day life. Hence the practical rewards gained

from linguistic research are many. In addition to those already described above, the following are also worth nothing as benefactors:

- developing and up-grading teaching of reading techniques
- speech pathology
- second language teaching
- dictionary projects
- speech and drama in the performing arts
- enriching the national language vocabulary
- comparative historical studies
- developing pedagogical and instructional materials
- advertizing and information services, both government and private.

III. Linguistic Projects and Programs Accomplished and in Process

Research work on the following languages and projects has been done by SIL and other scholars at the Linguistics Center on the Kirtipur Campus:

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. Nepali | 13. Khaling (Rai) |
| 2. Newari | 14. Kham |
| 3. Gurung | 15. Dhaangar |
| 4. Sherpa | 16. Chepang |
| 5. Magar | 17. Limbu |
| 6. Maithili | 18. Chitwan-Tharu |
| 7. Bhojpur | 19. Kusunda |
| 8. Thakali | 20. Thulung (Rai) |
| 9. Ghale | 21. Kulung (Rai) |
| 10. Kaike | 22. Darai |
| 11. Jirel | 23. Kagate |
| 12. Tamang | 24. Sunwar |

In most of the above languages phonemic summaries have been done on the sound systems, vocabulary lists compiled on a standard model for comparative uses, and various studies done on grammar and syntax have begun. The technical write-ups on these languages have been submitted to the central library of the university as well as the library and documentation center of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies. Scholars working on six Indian languages also benefited from the services of the SIL consultants and services at the Center.

The following projects were also completed under the auspices of the university:

1. Cantro-metrics Project, Columbia University, U.S.A. Recorded materials from the Sherpa, Bhojpuri and Tharu languages were specially prepared for use by scientists of the Bureau of Applied Social Research in studies on conversation styles in human communication.
2. IBM Computer Concordances. To date computer concordances in twelve languages of Nepal have been completed at the University of Oklahoma. These IBM concordances consist of approximately 1800 pages of output double quarto size paper of each language. Every word and meaning bit from a 200,000 word corpus of text is isolated, alphabetized and counted. These concordances are invaluable research materials for linguists of the future. These have been submitted to the central university library archives.
3. Haskins Laboratory Project. Special tape recorded material was prepared for the Haskins Laboratory, U.S.A. for spectrographic analysis of stress in Newari.
4. Conversational Nepali Course. A Nepali course, along with recorded tapes was prepared for foreigners wishing to learn Nepali. At the request of the Japan-Nepal Friendship Society one of the SIL scholars translated and prepared the course in Japanese. To date around 1,000 copies of the Nepali (English) course have been sold.
5. Conversational Newari Course. A Newari course has also been prepared and limited numbers of the course have been sold to foreign scholars interested in Newari.
6. Comprehensive Bibliographic Index of the Lesser Known Languages of India and Nepal. This bibliographic information has been compiled into one volume for easy reference and made available to scholars in Nepal and elsewhere.
7. Microfiche Reader. A reader and the beginning of a card inventory has been donated to the central library for use as materials become available.

8. Linguistics Books and Journals. Over 200 linguistics and related reference books and journals have been donated to the university to up-grade the material on linguistics for local linguistic scholars.
9. Printing Press. A modern offset printing plant has been donated and set up at the Linguistic Center to publish linguistic materials as needed.
10. Linguistic Center. Buildings have been constructed and landscaping carried out on a plot of ground adjacent to the Institute of Education, providing for residences, offices, library, seminar-lecture facilities and for the University Press.
11. Nepali Linguists. Under Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma's stimulus a joint program with the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies has been initiated in linguistics instruction to selected Institute scholars. In addition the Summer Institute of Linguistics has brought to the campus competent visiting scholars to lecture and hold seminars for program enrichment and academic stimulation.
12. Consultation Services. Staff linguists under Dr. Austin Hale have had a wide range of opportunities to serve visiting scholars from many countries who have passed through Kathmandu and wanted information on languages of Nepal. This has provided for good public relations and opportunities for exposure of Nepal's rich linguistic and cultural heritage abroad in academic circles.

IV. Linguistics Projects Planned for the Future.

SIL is prepared to continue serving as requested and needed in research, academic stimulation and instruction and language research. The following is a summary of plans for the immediate future.

1. Language Research. Continue studies on the syntax and grammar of most of the languages cited above. Hardly any work has been done in semantics; so research will begin in that area of linguistics.
2. Dictionaries. Closely related to the semantic research in reference above are glossary-dictionary projects. Considerable effort needs to be made in producing triglot formats: local language - Nepali-English, to give maximum usefulness to local and international scholars.

3. Linguistic Survey. In Chaitra 2029 (April 1973) a joint agreement between the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies and the Summer Institute of Linguistics was signed in which the first steps toward a comprehensive linguistic survey of Nepal was formulated. Nepali students under the INAS auspices in training now are being prepared to take on active roles in this project. It is hoped that eventually an official report can be published under Nepali linguistic editorship similar to, but much more comprehensive, than the Grearson Report of Indian languages.
4. Printing Facilities. To date the University Press does not have adequate right hand justification and devanagri offset printing facilities. Efforts are being made to incorporate these into our services soon.
5. IBM Computer Concordances. Every effort is being made to provide concordances for each language studied during the SIL contract tenure.
6. Recorded Language Material. Programmed efforts are being made to submit tapes of recorded language materials to the archives of the INAS. In the event where languages die out completely in the years to come, tapes of those languages as they were spoken will then be available to interested historians and scholars of the future.
7. Microfilming Equipment. Tentative plans are being made to install microfilming equipment for the university at the request of the Rector's office. Such equipment is badly needed and will provide valuable documentation and information storage services.

V. Conclusion

The linguistic work in Nepal has been and continues to be both challenging and stimulating. Thorough, respectable research in languages in which no scientific studies have previously been done is very time consuming and, hence, no short term program. Gathering reliable language data at its primary sources in linguistics often means collecting that data right in the actual communities where those languages still function as a viable part of the cultural dynamics. This takes much work and accounts for a good part of time spent on specific projects.

This exposure to the various minority cultures and the anticipated much larger involvement of Nepali scholars as they develop and carry on the linguistic labors in Nepal will be among our chief rewards for SIL involvement and service in this country. And it is our firm belief that, if carried out well, the years to come will bear ample evidence that linguistics research has contributed to development in Nepal.

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Book Department

A. Short Reviews

Robert L. Fleming, Jr., The General Ecology, Flora, and Fauna of Midland Nepal. Kathmandu, Nepal: United States Agency For International Development, 1973, XII, 105 pp., References, Illustrations, Ink Figures, Appendix of Scientific Names, Index. (Limited Edition 1,000 copies). Price not mentioned.

There has been of late so much talk in the world about the need for the protection of human environment that even Nepal has not remained wholly unaffected by it. On June 5, 1973 I had the honour of addressing a select group of Nepali educators and planners at a meeting convened by the Human Environment Experts Committee of Nepal in celebration of International Human Environment Day. In the course of my remarks on the occasion I sought to impress upon the distinguished audience that the protection of the environment is a matter of greater concern to the developing countries than to the advanced countries. The developed countries, while exploiting natural resources in a reckless and wanton manner over a period of time, have been able to discover alternative means of supplying the needs of life at least for the time being with much less dependence on nature. On the other hand, problems created by drought, floods and soil erosion have become so serious in developing countries that unless effective measures are adopted in time to protect nature and environment, the very source of life and employment in these countries, i.e. the land and its agriculture, will be threatened with dire consequences.

It is time that we did everything possible to make our own people aware of the urgency of the need for the protection of the environment in Nepal. The first and essential step toward achieving this goal is to arouse popular interest in the plant and animal life of the country by disseminating elementary knowledge of the subject among the people in general.

This, I think, is precisely what Dr. Robert Fleming, Jr. intends to do in the book under review, and if this is his object, I must say that he has admirably succeeded in achieving it. The publication of the book besides being most timely from an environmental point of view, fulfils the long felt need for basic information about the ecology, flora and fauna of Nepal.

Dr. Fleming, Jr. deserves our grateful thanks for this pioneering attempt to describe the general ecology, flora and fauna of the mid-montane region of Nepal in a simple and lucid manner. Scientific terms are defined clearly in everyday language so as to make them easily intelligible to the general reader.

Dr. Fleming's book is, in fact, remarkably free from scientific jargon and should be of great interest to the general reader. I read it at one sitting and found it highly absorbing.

The style bears the stamp of the author's personality and is characterised by sincerity, naturalness and a kind of easy-flowing geniality. Younger people in schools and colleges who can read English will profit immensely by the book which, apart from giving them a basic knowledge of the subject, will arouse their curiosity to find out more about what they have read. For general readers in Nepal, for short-time visitors from abroad and for all lovers of nature, treks in the mountains and even visits to the nearby woods in the Kathmandu Valley will acquire a new meaning and purpose after they have read Dr. Fleming's book. Apart from the educational and scientific value of the book, it makes the reader also share the author's profound human interest in, and love, of Nepal's landscape and natural surroundings with their remarkable flora and fauna.

The book contains five chapters and as many as fourteen coloured and twenty-six black and white illustrations and seven line drawings, all of which have a direct bearing on the subject-matter. The first chapter entitled 'What is Ecology?' deals with a number of scientific concepts, such as ecosystem, biomes, biogeographical regions, community and populations, in reference to ecology which the author defines as "the study of environment as it relates to life of the plants and animals". Topography (land-forms), soil and climate are all relevant, indeed basic to the study of ecology. There is an interesting discussion on the geology of the Himalaya which has for thousands of years influenced soil-formation, climate and rainfall of Nepal. Definitions of scientific terms and explanations of natural phenomena such as mountain-building and the monsoons are purposely made so simple and interesting that even the ignorant reader will not find the book dull or heavy even for a moment. The second chapter deals with the common plants and animals of a typical subtropical forest in Nepal, and the third chapter, under the heading 'The Oak-Rhoeodendron Forest,' discusses the plants, birds and animals of the mixed or twilight belt, which characterize the transition from the sub-tropical to the temperate zone. The fourth chapter mentions a few examples of aquatic eco-systems in Nepal such as the Pokhara Valley lakes, the rice fields, mountain streams and hot springs, with a view to emphasising their role in the study of the ecology of Nepal. The last chapter of the book, called 'Man Living With Nature: The Kathmandu Valley' focusses on the concept of man in midst of nature, taking as example the natural conditions of animal-and-plant life in the Kathmandu Valley, where there has always been the largest concentration of human population in all of Nepal.

This book also contains some well-meaning and constructive suggestions which our administrators and planners can use to their advantage. Let me conclude this review with a quotation from the book which refers to the danger of air-pollution which the Kathmandu Valley may have to face in future:

"Kathmandu Valley would seem especially vulnerable to future air-pollution problems. Given the Valley's bowl-like topography, combined with the lack of air movements and the constantly increasing number of polluting agents in the air, a serious problem could develop. Kathmandu Valley enveloped in a dirty--grey smog (familiar to many world cities) which stings the eyes, coats the buildings, induces plants to die, and obscures the rich panorama of the Himalayas would not be pleasant, either to the resident or to the visitor. One can foresee, without much difficulty, that enough improperly placed factories could contribute significantly to air-pollution in Kathmandu which then could endanger Nepal's reputation as a beautiful mountain country and ultimately reduce her revenues".

My only regret is that the book is published only in the English language. If only a book of this kind could be published in Nepali, it would benefit a much wider section of the reading public, and one which is in the position to act on the illumination it would have received.

Rishikesh Shaha

Kamal P. Malla Language in Nepal in Perspective (eds. Pashupati Shumsher J.B. Rana and Kamal P. Malla) - Chapter VII - pp. 101 - 118, 1973, Kathmandu, CEDA

There are six sub-titles in this article: 1. Historical Perspective, 2. Diversity of Language, 3. Unity of Language, 4. Nepali: Possibilities and Limitations, 5. Language Policy of the Government, and 6. Conclusion.

In this article the writer reviews the language situation of Nepal in historical perspective, surveys the present linguistic situation and the development of Nepali as the national language, examines the language policy of the government and, lastly, gives his own views about what should be done with the minority languages of the country.

1. In Historical Perspective he mentions that since 250 B.C. to the 10th Century, Sanskrit was the language of the court and religion (Buddhism and Hinduism). Newari came to be the written language after the 10th Century. Concurrently Maithili, Bangla and Eastern Hindi also got entrance into the courts of Kathmandu Valley. It was a polyglot situation. And the continuation of Newari

Literature came to a stop after the unification of Nepal (in the words of the writer - the Gorkha Conquest). One does not fail to notice that the writer has in view the Valley as the main background of his analysis. He seems unwilling to go beyond the valley. For example, other languages like Kirati (Limbu and Lapche) and Tibetan had already asserted their existence at that time. The Kirat script started as early as A.D. 700 (Lapche) and A.D. 900 (Limbu). A great many books were translated into the Tibetan script, invented around A.D. 700, from Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit texts. Tibetan was, in fact, an important language in and outside the valley when Newari became the dominant language in the valley. At one time, it was the official language of the Khas kings of West Nepal. Maithili, spoken in the Nepal Tarai, had spread over a large geographical area at that time and came to be recognised as one of the official court languages of the Malla kings of the valley and the Sen kings of East Nepal. Not only this: the Malla kings became the patrons of the language and caused a considerable amount of literature like dramas to be created which were enacted and enjoyed by the elite of the Malla time. Nepali has been the linguafranca of the country for about 150 years so the writer says. This is not entirely true. Nepali was the state language even before the Gorkha Conquest in the Baisi and Chaubisi principalities of West Nepal. Nepali speakers had already scattered in large areas of East Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Bihar. And, Nepali existed as one of the common languages in the valley during the time of the Malla kings. All these facts go to disprove that the Gorkha Conquest was the only cause of Nepali becoming the linguafranca of Nepal.

2. Diversity of Language: Here the writer analyses the number of speakers of the different languages of Nepal on the basis of 1961 Census, HMG. He also presents genetic diagrams of the Indo-Aryan and the Sino-Tibetan languages according to Grierson's classification. It seems the writer is not aware of the classifications of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal made by Shafer, Voegelin and Voegelin, Paul Benedict and S.I.L.'s modifications of these. After Hodgson, there have been many foreign scholars who have made remarkable studies on the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. His contention that Hodgson's study is the only scientific study so far available is not true. We can safely refer to SIL's linguistic studies on the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. SIL's contributions are no less important and they are, perhaps, more scientific than any previous study done so far. Again, it is not appropriate to say that Hindi is the rallying point of the speakers of different Tarai languages like Maithili, Tharu, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. The longstanding demand of the Maithili speakers of India to include Maithili in the eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution contradicts this observation of the writer. This observation might have been true perhaps about ten years back. The linguistic awareness of the people in Nepal and India has changed in recent years. And, changes have taken place in quick strides. The 1971

Indian Census shows this and in the Nepal Tarai Hindi has been losing its strength. Nepali is successfully functioning as the second language in the Nepal Tarai, Hindi does not come near it except in certain "situations".

3 & 4. In *Unity of Language*, the writer gives a brief account of Nepali and its literature and shows how it has been enthroned as the national language of the Kingdom. It has already been shown above how "the Gorkha Conquest" was not the only factor to make Nepali the linguafranca of the kingdom. There were Nepali speaking principalities other than the Gorkha state. Again, we disagree that the language of the rulers must invariably be the linguafranca of a country. The Norman Conquest of England could not replace English by French; and the long rules of the Muslims and British did not make Arabic and English the linguafranca of India. Criticism of the unnecessary Sanskritisation of Nepali by some educated Nepalis is welcome. But the writer's remark on it is more emotional than linguistic. He agrees that there exists a problem of vocabulary in the fields of science, technology and other social sciences in the language of developing nations. This need can be filled by borrowing either from the donor language or from the source language, or by new coinage or usages from the native language. Languages like Tibetan and Chinese have their own method of coining new words. This characteristic can be seen in Limbu also. But languages like Nepali, Newari, Magar, Hindi and English have created new words from borrowings from source language. (In the case of Nepali, Newari and Hindi the source language is Sanskrit and in case of English it is Greek and Latin). It is a universal phenomenon that a certain gap exists between official and spoken dialects because the former dialect has to cover the fields of all sophisticated sciences and technology. The critics of the Sanskritisation of Nepali are justified if it means official Nepali becoming incomprehensible and unacceptable to the common people. But the borrowing of Sanskrit is justified if it is to express the new language of science and technology, that is, if it is necessary. The writer's notion that 85% words in Nepali are similar to Hindi is quite impressionistic and incorrect. Sanskrit words in standard dialects of the "new" Indo-Aryan languages and the Tibeto-Burman languages like Newari and Manipuri are very common. Sanskrit is not a foreign language in Nepal. It has been studied for the last 2,000 years. It is depressing to note that the writer equates Nepali nationalism with anti-Indianism. His remark that Nepali nationalism is a self-defeating aspiration since Nepali is so much Sanskritised is indeed regrettable. The writer has misunderstood the essentials of Nepali nationalism, it is not directed against any country. There is English as state language in several countries of the world. In the writer's scheme of thinking there is no difference between British nationalism and American nationalism because of the fact that English exists as the official state language in both the nations! What about New Zealand and Australia ?

5. Under the Language Policy of the Government the writer discusses the policy of HMG discouraging the growth of other languages other than Nepali. The explicit example of such a policy are the exclusion of Newari language programmes in Radio Nepal and also the absence of Post-graduate teaching of Newari in the University. Under the New Education scheme, HMG has adopted a policy of encouraging education in any native language. This is indeed a welcome change. It is proper and justifiable that any native language possessing enough literature should be given recognition in higher education. We hope HMG will not put any obstructions in the way of the growth of minority languages.

6. Concluding his article, the writer indicates the absence of an alternative as the main reason for Nepali being the national language. As regards the minority language policy he presents three questions, namely (a) Assimilation, elimination or extermination, (b) Toleration of the minority languages, and (c) Encouragement of minority languages and he puts his views in favour of cultural pluralism as well as political unity, which is welcome. In a small country like ours characterised by geographical extremes, diversity of ethnic groups and languages, for national development to integrate and strengthen national unity, the need of a language that could act as a medium of communication of ideas was felt - this is being fulfilled by Nepali. But in order to protect and foster other languages it is essential that proper recognition be granted by HMG to those languages, if such a need is deemed desirable. This will surely be instrumental in strengthening national unity and integrity.

The writer's presentation of the minority languages of Nepal is discerning. The question of language maintenance and loyalty does not rest solely on education and economic well-being; it also depends on the attitude of the speakers of the language. The Thakalis, for example, are a comparatively advanced and literate people. The Tamangs, on the other hand, are not advanced much in this respect. But the Tamangs have been found to be strictly loyal to their language. Besides Nepali, Maithili among the Indo-Aryan languages and Newari and Tibetan among Sino-Tibetan languages have necessarily an esteemed place following their great cultural and literary tradition. The writer's assertion that Newari is the only important language after Nepali cannot be lightly swallowed. (pp. 110, para 2).

There is, of course, no denying the fact that the cultural identity of the Newars is a motivating factor in their drive for maintenance of and the loyalty to the language.

Lastly, in an attempt to show himself impartial, the writer, in the process, is found roving in contradictions and dilemma. In places the writer has been carried away by sentimentality which disregards linguistic facts. For instance, in the context

of Sanskritisation he comments: "Nepali may burst at seams with an unmanageable load of Sanskritised vocabulary after a certain stage". Language is not a balloon which bursts under pressure ! Neither imposition in itself makes borrowings in a language successful. In the long run, speakers themselves filter, choose, and throw away whatever is unwanted. Likewise the writer includes Bhutan and Sikkim inside India as if they were states like Bengal and Assam. Such apparent carelessness not only hurts the conscious citizens of those countries but also disregards reality. Simply because peoples are comparatively backward in accepting "civilisation", it is inappropriate to designate their languages as "Tribal languages". Even if the speakers are not advanced no language can be called a tribal language.

Nevertheless, this article has brought forward the opinions and values of the writer regarding the languages of Nepal. It is, indeed, through the churning of ideas that we can arrive at a scientific conclusion. We look forward to more thought-provoking articles of this nature in the future from the writer.

B.M. Dahal and Subhadra Subba.

Prayag Raj Sharma, Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin, West Nepal, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972, 116 pp., References, Genealogical Table, Selected Bibliography, Illustrations, Line Drawings, Indices, Translation in French Supervised by Marc Gaborieau. Price not mentioned.

In 1955, Prof. G. Tucci of the Ismeo Institute of Rome and a reputed Nepali scholar, Yogi Naraharinath of the Kanphatta order, independently of each other, discovered the Dullu pillar and other inscriptions. This discovery brought to light the rule of the Malla kings in the Karnali region, which roughly covered the period from the 12th century through the 14th century. Prof. Tucci's Preliminary Report On Two Scientific Expeditions In Nepal and his book The Discovery Of The Malla along with Yogi Naraharinath's 4 volumes of Itihas Prakash and his Sandhi-Samgraha have been the source of our information about the history of the Karnali region. But in the above publications there is only a casual reference to the works of art and architecture. Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma has been one of the pioneers in the field of research in the art, architecture and sculpture of the Karnali region. His Preliminary Study Of the Art And Architecture Of The Karnali Basin is based on a first-hand observation of the wooden shrines housing gods of diverse cults, locally described as thans or madus, and the temples, generally called devals, and miscellaneous structures of stonemasonry such as a large water reservoir at Dullu, a rest house at Vyauli, and an open Hypostyle hall, that is mandap at Bayal-kantiya. Although the entire region in western Nepal lying between the Bheri and the Mahakali Rivers may be in a wider sense designated as the Karnali basin, the author uses it in a limited sense merely to denote the area comprising the districts of Jumla, Dailekh, Achham and Bajura.

The temples are generally influenced by the Kumaunese style in temple architecture with minor local variations. The temples at Vinayak I, Koiralagaun, Lamji, Kuikanda, Rawatkot, Bhurti, Kimugaun and Dullu Chaur are the best specimens of structural balance and proportion. Buddhist shrines known as stupas are not as numerous. But the stupas at Siridhuska and Michagaun stand by themselves as self-contained and complete structures whereas the one at Kuchi is a superstructure over a water reservoir and those at Sampubada and Dasaunibada appear as finials over water-conduits. According to Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma, these temples and stupas are in a dilapidated state and are fast falling apart owing to lack of maintenance. Some of these monuments, such as the Kankrevihar monastery, are already in ruins.

Two kinds of temple-groups are conspicuous -- the two-temple group and the Panchadeval, that is the five-temple group. The two-temple group consists of the two temples either facing each other or standing side by side. In the five-temple group, the principal shrine at the centre, facing south, east or west depending on local custom, is flanked on the two sides by paired temples in the north-south direction. The Bhurti I temples and the Rawatkot temples serve as typical examples of the two-temple group and the five-temple group respectively.

Both Brahmanical and Buddhist icons and images are mentioned. Brahmanical idols with the exception of a few stone images of the sun-god and Ganesh and a bronze statue of Vasundhara are mostly of the Shaiva and Vaishnava gods and goddesses such as Shiva-Parvati and Visnu-Lakshmi. There are also traditional Buddhist images. The statue of Buddha at Kankrevihar, the impression of the figure of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara Padmapani between two stupas on a clay tablet found at Sija and a bronze statue of Manjushri may be cited as examples. Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma has made a detailed comparative study of the iconographic features of both the Brahmanical and Buddhist icons.

Sharma includes, as the prologue, a brief anthropo-sociological note on the Chhetris, the Thakuris and the Brahmins along with other occupational castes of the hill area such as the Kamis, Damais and Sarkis. He refers to the close cultural affinity and intercourse between the people of western Nepal and those of Kumaun, whose geographically contiguous territories formed parts of a common kingdom on several occasions in the past. But it is difficult to accept Sharma's statement that both the Baise that is, the twenty-two principalities in the Karnali region, and the Chaubise, that is, the twenty-four principalities in the Gandaki region, are descended from the Malla dynasty or kingdom of the 12th century with its capital at Sija in Jumla. His only reason for this is the chronological one that the Baise and Chaubise principalities came later than the Khasa Malla kingdom in the Karnali region! (p. 13). The conclusion is rather hasty because the history of the period between the fall of the Malla dynasty in the Karnali region in the

14th century and the rise of the twenty-two and twenty-four principalities in the 15th century remains largely unexplored. As far as the twenty-four principalities are concerned, the forebears of one of the oldest of those dynasties, which was established at Bhirkot, are said to have come from India and proceeded there by way of Ridi and Lasargha in Central Nepal. Further, some of the leading twenty-four principalities claimed their descent from the moon and not from the sun as was done by the ruling dynasties of the twenty-two principalities. However, it seems that Sharma himself is not unaware of these considerations because he himself writes a little later in his monograph:

"Whether all the lacuna in the historical account between the decline of the Malla Kingdom and the Baisi states can ever be filled is a moot question". (p. 19).

As regards the dynastic history of the Karnali region, there is a difference of opinion between Professor Tucci and Dr. Sharma on whether the Malla dynasty there originated in Tibet or somewhere on the southern slope of the Himalaya. Sharma has accused Tucci of viewing "the whole Malla episode from the Tibetan angle". Tucci is an internationally-known Italian scholar of Tibetology and Indo-Tibetan cultural relations, and Sharma is a young Nepali Brahman scholar of archaeology who has specialised in its Sanskrit aspects and tradition. The point of difference between the two can be examined at some length because when one starts talking about "angles", it must be admitted that, if it is possible for a Tibetologist to develop biases of one kind, it is also possible for an Indologist to be biased.

According to Tucci, there were two dynasties at the beginning, one ruling Guge and the other Purang. Guge consisted of a part of western Tibet known as Zanjun which had its capital at Tsaparang before the establishment of the Malla dynasty and was ruled by the Tibetan kings of the Lde family who claimed their descent from the Lhasa kings. The Malla dynasty founded by Nagaraj was initially based in Guge which was situated to the south of the Satlaj and moved its capital later to Sija, fifteen miles northwest of the modern district headquarter of Jumla. Purang, the seat of the dynasty of the Palas, formed the south-eastern part of western Tibet with its capital at Taklakot. After Pratap Malla of the Gage-based Malla dynasty, who had no male heir, gave his daughter Sakunmala in marriage to Punya Malla of the Purang-based dynasty of the Palas, the two dynasties merged and the title Malla was used in place of Pala. It may be noted here that it was customary for a sonless father-in-law among a section of the Matwali Chhetris to have the son-in-law live in the father-in-law's house like a son in accordance with the practice of Gharhalne which means, literally, settin up a home. Sija at the confluence of the two tributaries of the Karnali river in Jumla became the capital of the united kingdom. Prithvi Malla, son of Punya Malla and Sakunmala, was the most famous King of this kingdom. Tucci's opinions, given above, are

apparently based on Tibetan chronicles and on a rather far-fetched and controversial translation of a the Dullu inscription so as to imply references to China and Gohadesha as Guge. The Malla kingdom reached the height of its power during the reign of Prithvi Malla, who ruled over a large area consisting of Guge, Purang, Kumaun and Garhwal. The kingdom extended as far as Dullu to the south-west, Mustang to the northeast, and Kapilvastu and Rum-mindehi to the south-east. Prithvi Malla's inscriptions indicate that he ruled between 1338 and 1358 A.D. After Prithvi Malla, Abhaya Malla appears on the scene in 1376 according to a copper-plate granted by him from Udambarapuri (?) that year. After Abhaya Malla, the Malla kingdom suffered disintegration and splintered into a multitude of local principalities and chieftancies. However Jumla was considered by some of the twenty-two principality rulers to be their suzerain until it was conquered by Gorkha in 1789-90.

Sharma does not agree with Tucci that the Malla and the Pala dynasties expanded southward only after they had created their dynastic bases of power in Tibet. Sharma contends that, as it would not have been possible for these Indo-Aryan families to found dynasties in Tibet without passing through the intervening mountain area of western Nepal, and that, in the absence of any record left by the members of these dynasties that they had travelled back from Tibet, and in view of the fact that all their monuments are found on the southern slope of the Himalaya, Tucci's conjecture cannot be correct. Instead, Sharma accepts Yogi Naraharinath's interpretation of the inscription with the conclusion that both these dynasties with their centres at Dullu and Sija had sprung up on the southern side of the Himalaya and had extended their sway over Purang, Guge and all over western Tibet. In view of the present reviewer's lack of familiarity with the Tibetan sources, he is not in a position to express any definitive opinion on this specific point of difference between Tucci and the Nepali scholars. But the present reviewer for one cannot see why it would not be possible for a member of the Indo-Aryan family to found a dynasty in Tibet on the north simply because his ancestors and members of the family in the past had had to pass through the intervening mountainous area on the southern slope of the Himalaya to get to Tibet.

Let me conclude this review with a reference to a few interesting details about the history of the area. Among the predecessors of Pratap Malla were Krachalla and Ashokchalla, who ruled over an area that included Kumaun and Garhwal. Prof. Luciano Petech of the Ismeo Institute of Rome, author of Medieval History of Nepal has determined the date of the regnal period of Ashokchalla as between 1255 and 1278 A.D. Jitari Malla, who invaded the Kathmandu Valley in 1288 and 1290 A.D., and Ripu Malla and Aditya Malla, who invaded it in 1310 and 1338 A.D. respectively, were the descendants of Ashokchalla and the immediate predecessors of Pratap Malla.

The discovery of the Malla dynasty in the Karnali region has certainly added to our knowledge of the medieval history of Nepal. It has not only enabled us to locate the origin of successive attacks on the Kathmandu Valley in the 13th and the 14th centuries but has also made us realise for the first time that there were other centres of power and civilisation at the time in the present day territory of Nepal itself. Although the Malla kingdom in the west did not attain the same level of artistic and cultural development as the Kathmandu Valley which was ruled by a different Malla dynasty, the achievements of the former were in no way insignificant. Ruins of Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples show the prevalence of both Buddhism and Hinduism in the area. The co-existence of Hindu gods and goddesses with the Dhyan Buddhas and the Vajrayanic Siddhas (sages) reveals the same kind of religious and cultural synthesis as there was in the Kathmandu Valley. The images of both types show a fair level of artistic and sculptural development. Trade was a main prop of the agriculturally-based economy in the hill areas, which were unproductive compared to the fertile soil of the Kathmandu Valley. The present-day Jumla-Dullu-Surkhet trail may at that time have been the main commercial highway for trans-Himalayan trade. Taklakot, the summer capital of the Malla dynasty, was perhaps the main gateway to Tibetan trade.

An interesting piece of supplementary information included in Sharma's book is the description of the two new bilingual copper-plates of Aditya Malla dated A.D. 1321 and Punya Malla dated A.D. 1328 in Devanagiri and Tibetan script, which were found by Mohan Prasad Khanal in a new Lama monastery at the Samdu village in the Gorkha district. These have pushed back the date of the earliest specimen of Nepali writing by 16 years. Punya Malla's copper-plate of 1337 A.D. and the Kanak-Patra, that is the gold-leaf written by Shivadev Pandit in 1352 A.D. were so far supposed to have contained the oldest specimens of Nepali in the written form. The experts thank that these specimens represent the end of the period of old Nepali and the beginning of medieval Nepali.

The book is illustrated with 34 black and white photographs of temples taken by Marc Gaborieau in 1968. These, along with the three maps at the end of the monograph, add greatly to its value. One can only hope that Dr. Sharma will in due course proceed from this preliminary study to a fully comprehensive account of the subject.

Rishikesh Shaha.

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PLANNING - A COMPROMISE.

Rising Nepal, 1973 Sept. 6.

The author suggests that apart from a sound economic factor we should also keep in mind the political and social factors for a systematic and balanced development of the country.

K.C., Ram Bahadur

RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME IN NEPAL

Rising Nepal, 1973 June 20.

pp. 4-5.

A brief survey of the programme with suggestions for making such programmes scientific.

Karki, Gyanendra Bahadur

FOREIGN POLICY OF NEPAL.

Rising Nepal, 1973 Aug. 22.

pp. 4-5

Friendship with all-the policy of non-alignment-our policy is to govern ourselves according to our own national interests-etc. highlighted.

Mr. Karki's speech on 'Nepal's Foreign Policy' delivered at a function organised by the T.U. Pol-Sc. Association on 1973 Aug. 16th.

Lohani, Mohan (Dr.)

(THE) MONARCHY IN NEPAL - AN INDISPENSABLE POLITICAL INSTITUTION. Kathmandu, Dept. of Information, Ministry of Communications, H.M.G., 1973.

The role of monarchy, Panchayat Democracy and its facets highlighted.

Macdonald, Alexander W.

THE LAMA AND THE GENERAL.

In Kailash - A Journal of Himalayan Studies, Vol. 1, No. 3. 1973.

pp. 225-33

Presents an account of the conversation that took place between the high Lama who lived in the 'Rongbuk Monastery' and the leader of British Everest expeditions on two occasions. Original in Tibetan translated by the author. The respective writings of the lama and the general are compared to expose the 'degree of objectivity sought for and achieved' in them.

Marie - Laure de Labriffe

ETUDE DE LA FABRICATION D'UNE STATUE AU NEPAL.

In Kailash - A Journal of Himalayan Studies, Vol. 1. No. 3, 1973.

pp. 185-92.

Technique of metal casting in Nepal. Includes a summary in Nepali and photo-plates.

Mc Dougal, Charles

STRUCTURE AND DIVISION IN KULUNGE RAI SOCIETY.

In Kailash - A Journal of Himalayan Studies, Vol. 1, No. 3,
1973.

pp. 205-25.

An anthropological study of the Kulunge Rais of Solukhumbu District. Their environment and settlement patterns, economic organisation, marriage and authority. etc. described.

Nepal, Khem Raj

(THE) BANTAWA RAIS

Rising Nepal, 1973 Sept. 14.

p. 3. (suppl.)

"A brief note on marriage customs of the Bantawa Rais".

Nepal National Planning Commission.

NATIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION AT A CLANCE.

Kathmandu, National Planning Commission Secretariat,

(2020 V.S.)

6 p. (pamphlet)

(The) New Herald (pub.)

VILLAGE OF THE WIDOWS

The New Herald, 1972 Aug. 2.

p. 3.

An exciting description of a cult whose members are women only. The author describes that "Sipche, the strange village of Dhading district of Western Nepal has a population of 800. The entire population consists of widows ranging from 15 years of age to 95. There is a belief among them that if they go on killing the male guests who visit them inside their homes with doses of a particular herb, the hundredth person who is thus killed gets transformed into gold.

Pandey, Madhav Raj

HOW JANG BAHADUR ESTABLISHED RANA RULE IN NEPAL.

In Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1973 Dec. (2020 Pous).

pp. 50-53.

Describes how Jung Bahadur Rana played his role during the Kot massacre and the Bhandarkhal incident, his rise to power, his offer of help to the British during the Indian Mutiny and other events concerning his life and times, with bibliographical references in the footnotes.

Pandey, Ram Niwas

THE ART OF KAPILAVASTU.

In Journal of the Tribhuvan University, V. 8, No. 1, 1973.

pp. 9-52.

Descriptions, by the Chinese travellers Fahien and Huiyen Tsiang, of the images and the paintings seen at Kapilavastu in their days referred to. Objects of art both Hindu and Buddhist yielded by the excavations of Tilaurakota discussed and described in detail against the background of history. Recent excavation at Piparahawa near Tilaurakota is also referred to. Includes bibliographical references and 16 photoplates.

Pillai, Govinda Krishna

KALI: THE MOTHER GODDESS

In The Nepal Digest, Vol. ?, No. 11, 1973.

pp. 25-31.

Spotlights on Kali cult prevalent both in India and Nepal.

Pradhan, Bhuwan Lal

(THE) TEMPLE OF PASHUPATI

Rising Nepal, 1973 Sept. 28.

p. 5. (suppl.)

'An attempt to trace a brief history of its construction and reconstructions through the different ages of the past'.

Pradhan, Madhuri

THE TIHAR FESTIVAL

Rising Nepal, 1973 Oct. 27.

p. 4.

A general description of this festival of lights.

Pradhan, Madhuri

TULAZA BHAWANI-THE GODDESS BEHIND THE KUMARI

Rising Nepal, 1973 Oct. 4.

p.4.

The importance of goddess Tulaja in Hindu tradition and several stories related to her described.

Raj, Prakash A

THE ROLE OF MIGRATION IN NEPAL. Development in Nepal at Glance. Kathmandu, The author. 1973.

pp. 1-9

Describes in detail the phenomenon of migration from the hilly region of Nepal to the Terai, including its effect upon environment and the social & political life in the country.

Regmi, D.R.

THE MEDIAEVAL CALENDAR OF NEPAL

In The Nepal Digest, Vol. 2, No. 11, 1973.

pp. 71-73.

Describes the characteristics of the Newari Calender in use up till now, which had its origin in the Nepal era started in 879 A.D.

Rijal, Babu Krishna

EXCAVATION, EXPLORATION AND OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES IN TILAKURAKOT: 1972-73.

Prachin Nepal (Ancient Nepal, Journal of the Department of Archaeology) No. 22, 1973.

pp. 60-69, illus.

Text in Nepali and English.

Shah, Bishnu Pratap

PANCHAYAT DEVELOPMENT AND LAND TAX IN JHAPA

Rising Nepal, 1973 Dec. 15.

pp. 4-5.

The objectives and impact of PDLT system assessed. The assessment is based on field study.

Shah, Rishikesh

NAPAL'S WORLD VIEW

Rising Nepal, 1973 Oct. 2.

pp. 4-5.

Nepal's political behaviour with special reference to India and China analysed in brief.

Shah, Rishikesh

TANTRIC TRADITION IN NEPAL

Rising Nepal, 1973 July 13.

p. 184. (suppl.)

A well documented article on Tantrism as depicted in Hindu and Buddhist tradition.

Sharma, N.

BIR BAHADUR'S COW

Rising Nepal, 1973, Sept. 7.

p. 3. (suppl.)

A folktale of Nepal

Sharma, N.

WHAT AILED KARNADHOJ ?

Rising Nepal, 1973 Sept. 21.

p. 3. (suppl.)

A folk tale of Nepal

Sharma, Pitamber

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRES: SOME PROBLEMS OF GROWTH

Rising Nepal, 1973 Nov. 8, and 1973 Nov. 9.

pp. 4-5 and pp. 4-5.

Mr. Sharma discusses (i) the problem of developing and fostering the administrative function, (ii) the problem of introducing economic vitality, (iii) the problem of planning for population increase and (iv) the problem of fostering development mentality.

Shrestha, C.B.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MAKAR SANKRANTI MELA

Rising Nepal, 1974 Jan., 17

p. 4.

A legend as well as the conception behind this festival.

Stablein, William

A MEDICAL -- CULTURAL SYSTEM AMONG THE TIBETAN AND NEWAR
BUDDHISTS: CEREMONIAL MEDICINE.

In Kailash - A Journal of Himalayan Studies, Vol. 1,
No. 3, 1973.

pp. 193-203.

Attempts 'to delineate the basic units which make up a medical-cultural-system as symbolized by language and myth in ritual'. Propose that 'these units are fundamental to the Vajrayana ritual complex'. Includes bibliographical references.

Tiwari, Sudarshan Raj.

THE NONCONFORMIST TEMPLEX.

Rising Nepal, 1973 Nov., 30

pp. 1&4 (of weekly supplement).

Bhimsen and Bhairab are described as nonconformist gods. The study is based on Vastupurusha Mandala (the personified image of the cosmos') and throws light on Hindu architecture and symbolism.

Verghese, Joseph

ARTISTIC STYLES IN NEPAL

Rising Nepal, 1973 June. 11.

pp. 4-5.

Contents:-

1. The pre-Licchavi period (before 400 A.D.) 2. The Licchavi period 5th-8th Century) 3. The transitional period (6th-10th century) 4. The early Malla period (11th-14th century) 5. The late Malla period (15th-18th century) 6. Shah period (from mid 18th century) 7. Paintings on cloth 8. Paintings on paper.

A scholarly attempt to analyse the main characteristics and trends in Nepal's artistic tradition, in a short compass.

अधिकारी, अम्बिका प्रसाद

दशैको धार्मिक पन्नाः एक परिचय ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज १८ गते ।

पृ. ४ ।

अधिकारी, अम्बिका प्रसाद

वेदमा विवाहः एक परिशीलन ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, वैशाख ३० गते ।

पृ. ४ (बाँकी पृ. ६ मा)

आचार्य, नरहरि

हाम्रो संस्कृति र श्राद्ध विधान ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज ६ गते ।

पृ. ४ ।

श्राद्ध विधानवारे आर्य संस्कृतिका प्राचीन आचार्यहरूमा रहेको विचार शक्तिको सामान्य दृष्टिकोणलाई बुझाउने प्रयास गरिएको छ ।

आचार्य, शिवराज

वैदिक धर्ममा आश्रम-धर्म ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज २७ गते ।

पृ. ६

वैदिक धर्ममा मानिएका चार प्रकारका आश्रमधर्महरू मानिसलाई उसका ज्ञान विज्ञानका मोकहरू र विविध भोगका तृष्णाहरूको समुचित उपशमन गरी परमकल्याणमय लक्ष्यमा पुर्याउन योजनाहरू हुन् ।

उपाध्याय, श्यामप्रसाद

हाम्रो प्रशासन मा कर्मचारी प्रशासन ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज १० गते ।

पृ. ४-५

लोक प्रशासनमा (सरकारी) कर्मचारी प्रशासनको क्रमगत विकास (२०१३-२०२५) वारे संक्षिप्त चर्चा ।

कविताराम

आर्य-अनार्य संस्कृतिको समिश्रणः शैव धर्म ।

प्रज्ञा, त्रैमासिक वि.सं. २०३०, वर्षा ३, अंक १ ।

पृ. २१-२७

१४६ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

के. सी. , मोहन बहादुर

कर्णाली अंचलको लोक गीत र यसका भाषा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि. सं. २०३०, भदौ १६ गते ।

पृ. ७

कर्णाली अंचलको ग्रामीण जन-जीवनमा भिजिरहेको नेपाली लोकगीतमा फलकको जन-जीवनको फलक ।

‘केशवशरण’, खेमराज

जीवन सौन्दर्यको प्रतीक लक्ष्मीपुजा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि. सं. २०३०, कार्तिक ६ गते ।

पृ. ४

‘केशवशरण’, खेमराज

विजया दशमीको दिव्य सन्देश ।

गोरखापत्र, वि. सं. २०३०, असोज २० गते ।

पृ. ४

खनाल, मुक्तिनाथ (अनु.)

सुवर्णप्रभास सूगम् । काठमाडौं, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-

प्रतिष्ठान, वि. सं. २०३० ।

६+११२ पृ.

बौद्ध धर्मको सूत्र ग्रन्थ ।

गोरखापत्र (प्र०)

गाउँफर्क - राष्ट्रिय अभियान: केहि प्रश्न केहि उत्तर ।

गोरखापत्र, वि. सं. २०३०, मंसिर २ गते ।

पृ. ५ (शनिवारीय परिशिष्टांक)

गाउँफर्क - राष्ट्रिय अभियान संवन्धी आधारभूत तथ्यहरूलाई प्रश्नोत्तर रूपमा प्रस्तुत

गरिएको छ ।

गोरखापत्र (प्र०)

२०३०/३१ को आर्थिक सम्वेदाणा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि. सं. २०३०, आषाढ २० गते ।

पृ. ४

(भू. पू.) प्रधानमन्त्री तथा राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगका अध्यक्ष श्री कीर्तिनिधि विष्टले

०३० साल आषाढ १७ गते राष्ट्रिय पंचायतको बैठकमा प्रस्तुत गर्नु भएको चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय

योजना अन्तर्गत आर्थिक वर्ष २०३०/३१ को वार्षिक योजनाको आर्थिक सम्वेदाणा ।

गौतम, टेकनाथ

खस जातिको विवेचन ।

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ६, अंक ८, वि.सं. २०३० पौष ।

पृ. ७१-७६

ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमिमा खस जातिको संक्षिप्त विवेचन ।

जोशी, सत्यमोहन

नेपाल-भारत सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज २४-२६ गते ।

सांस्कृतिक संवन्ध र मित्रताको इतिहासमा हिमालयको भूमिका - संस्कृत भाषा -

गौतम बुद्ध - धार्मिक स्थलहरू - स्थापत्य र मूर्तिकलामा समानता - आदि ।

ऐतिहासिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक र राजनैतिक पृष्ठभूमिमा आधारित गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

जोशी, सत्यमोहन

श्वेत चैत्यको पृष्ठभूमिमा केहि विवरण, केहि संस्मरण ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर २० गते र २१ गते ।

पृ. ४

तेह्रौं शताब्दीमा नेपालबाट तिब्बत प्रदेश पुगी, त्यहाँ अनेकन कलाकृतिहरू सिर्जना गरी,

सम्राट कुवलाईखानको निमन्त्रणामा पेकिंग पुग्ने नेपाली कलाकार अरनिकोले बनाएका श्वेत चैत्रको कलात्मक स्वरूपको वर्णन । पृष्ठभूमिमा अरनिकोको संक्षिप्त जीवनी । सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमिमा नेपाल-चीनको राजनैतिक संवन्धको समीक्षा ।

तेज विक्रम

पूर्वांचलको समाज र संस्कृतिका कुराहरू ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर ६ गते ।

पृ. ६ (शनिवारीय परीशिष्टाक)

राई - लिम्बूहरूको रीति धितिवारे संक्षिप्त जानकारी ।

थापा, धर्मराज

गण्डकी अंचलका गोकर्णित ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर ६ गते ।

पृ. ७ (शनिवारीय परीशिष्टाक)

उत्तरोत्तर प्रगति गर्दै आएको गीतिधाराको अवलोकन । साथै गीतिधारामा मिसिएका धर्म, संस्कृति, आदि तथ्यवारे गहकिलो चर्चा । संदर्भमा केहि लोक गीतहरूको उल्लेख पनि ।

१४८ आइ. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल

थापा, धर्मराज

नाम्चेतर्फे लोकगीत अन्वेषणमा जाँदा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, आषाढ ३० गते ।

पृ. ७

दनलि, रामशरण

नेपाली संस्कृतिका एक आराध्य देवता नाट्यश्वर ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर २ गते ।

पृ. ५ (शनिवारीय परिशिष्टांक)

नेपालको सांस्कृतिका र धार्मिक पृष्ठभूमिमा शिवको 'नटराज' स्वरूपवारे संक्षिप्त

चर्चा ।

दाहाल, तारामणि

संगिनी लोकगीत एक दृष्टिमा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, साउन २० गते ।

पृ. ६

नेपाली लोकगीतमा नारी सुलभ करुण भावनाको चित्रण र समाजमा व्याप्त जातिगत

धार्मिक संस्कारको फलक ।

दीप, ध्रुवकृष्ण

तान्त्रिक सम्प्रदायमा सिद्धि साधना ।

विदेह, अंक ४, वि.सं. २०३० भाद्र-आश्विन पृ. ७३-७७ क्रमशः

अंक ५-६ ,, २०३० कार्तिक-माघ पृ. ५४-६१

दीप ध्रुवकृष्ण

बौद्ध मूर्ति कलाको दार्शनिक पृष्ठभूमि - एक चर्चा ।

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ६, अंक ६, वि.सं. २०३० माघ ।

पृ. २१-२४

सामान्य चर्चा ।

श्रेष्ठ, हरि

राजा श्री रणजितमल्ल संवन्धी केही गीत ।

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ६, अंक १०, वि.सं. २०३०, फागुन ।

पृ. २१-२४

गीतहरूमा तत्कालिक राजनैतिक अवस्थाको चित्रण पाईन्छ ।

देवीचन्द्र (संग्रहकर्ता)

केहि जुम्ली शब्द ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, जेष्ठ १३ गते ।

पृ. ७ (शनिवारीय परिशिष्टांक)

जुम्ला मेगमा प्रचलित केहि स्थानीय शब्दहरूको नामावली र तिनका नेपाली पर्याय ।
नेपाल । श्री ५ को सरकार, राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगको सचिवालय,
थापाथली, काठमाडौं । (प्र०)

राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगको परिचय । काठमाडौं, राष्ट्रिय
योजना आयोग, वि.सं. २०३० ।

६ पृ.

रा.यो.आ.संवन्धी संदिप्त तर महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी दिलाउने पुस्तिका ।
पशुपति शमशेर ज.व.रा.

चाँथो योजनाको माध्यावधि अवलोकन - एक विचार ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, वैशाख १६ गते ।

पृ. ४-५

चाँथो योजनाको माध्यावधि प्रगति मूल्यांकन प्रतिवेदनमा आधारित समीक्षात्मक
अध्ययन । योजनाको उद्योग र कृषि संवन्धी नीतिलाई वढी व्यावहारिक र उपयोगी बनाउनको
निमित्त केही ठोस सुझावहरू ।

प्रधान, गंगा प्रसाद

नेपालमा निजामती सेवाको ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर १६ गते ।

पृ. ५

वि.सं. १९०३ देखि २०२२ सम्मको निजामति सेवाको बदलिँदो स्वरूपबारे संदिप्त
विवेचन ।

प्रधान, प्रचण्ड (डा.)

दोत्रीय विकासमा युवक संगठनको भूमिका ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, आषाढ ६ गते ।

पृ. ६ (शनिवारीय परिशिष्टांक)

अंचल र जिल्ला स्तरीय युवक संगठनहरूबाट दोत्रीय विकासमा योगदान दिन सकिने
केहि गहकिला सुझावहरू ।

प्रधान भुवनलाल

बाँदको स्थूल चैत्य ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज २७ गते ।

पृ. ८

उपरिलिखित चैत्यबारे ऐतिहासिक र धार्मिक पृष्ठभूमिमा गहकिलो चर्चा । चैत्यको
निर्माणकाल वि.सं. ५११-५६२ ।

१५० आइ. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

स्वयम्भुको उत्पत्ति ।

गोरखापत्र, वि. सं. २०३०, साउन २७ गते ।

पृ. ५

विभिन्न ऐतिहासिक अभिलेख र वंशावलीहरूको आधारमा स्वयम्भुको उत्पत्तिबारे
गहकिलो अध्ययन ।

पाण्डेय, रमेश नाथ

साही निर्देशन र सामाजिक विकास प्रक्रिया ।

गोरखापत्र, वि. सं. २०३०, आषाढ ६ गते ।

पृ. ५-६

श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजवाट सामाजिक परिवर्तनको निम्ति उठाई वक्सेको केही महत्त्व-
पूर्ण कदमहरूमा आधारित विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन ।

पोख्रेल, वालकृष्ण

लोकगीतमा लुकेको रहस्य ।

वागीना, ने. त्रैमासिक, वि. सं. २०३० कार्तिक-पुस ।

पृ. १-७

राष्ट्रिय जीवनको अपरिमेय निधि नेपालको लोक साहित्यको ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमिमा
प्रकाश । संदर्भगत धर्म संस्कृति र राजनैतिक स्थिति वारे चर्चा ।

पन्त, दिनेश राज

राजा निर्मयदेव, रूद्रदेव, भोजदेव, लक्ष्मीकामदेव ।

पूणिमा (ऐतिहास प्रधान त्रैमासिक पत्रिका) वर्षा ८, अंक २,

पृ. ११६-४३

लिच्छविकाल भन्दा पक्कि र जयस्थिति मल्ल भन्दा अधिककालको नेपालको ऐतिहासमा
केहि शिलालेख तथा वंशावलीहरूको आधारमा चर्चा । (संशोधन मण्डलको पूर्णांक ३०)

परिशिष्ट १ - निर्मयदेव, रूद्रदेव, लक्ष्मीकामदेवको विषयमा वंशावलीहरूको वर्णन,
पृ. १३२-३५ । परिशिष्ट २ - द्वंद्वराज्य, पृ. १३५-३८ । परिशिष्ट ३ - रूद्रदेव र भोजदेवको
नाता भातृज पुत्र शब्दको अर्थ) पृ. १३८-४३ ।

पन्त, नयराज

वि. सं. १०६२ देखि १०६६ सम्मको नेपालको ऐतिहासको फलक ।

पूणिमा (ऐतिहास प्रधान त्रैमासिक पत्रिका), वर्षा ८, अंक २,

पृ. १५३-४६

यस अंकमा प्रकाशित निर्मयदेव, रूद्रदेव, भोजदेव, लक्ष्मीकाम देवको विषयको लेखमा
उद्धृत साधनहरूको संस्कृत भाषाको शुद्धिकरण गर्ने प्रयास । (संशोधन मण्डलको पूर्णांक ३०)

पंथी, टीकाराम

नेपाली भाषाको विग्रहो रूप ।

भेटघाट, सामायिक संकलन, वर्ष २, अंक १, वि.सं. २०३०

विजया दशमी ।

पृ. १-६

वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र

लिच्छविकालको कर व्यवस्था ।

Contributions to Nepalese Studies (Journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur).

पृ. ७६-८५

विभिन्न अभिलेखहरूको आधारमा लेखिएको लिच्छविकालको कर व्यवस्थावारे खोजपूर्ण अध्ययन ।

विष्ट, किर्तीनिधि

श्री ५ वीरेन्द्र र देश विकास ।

सिम्कि, मासिक, अंक ५, वर्ष ५, वि.सं. २०३० ।

पृ. २४-२७

समसामयिक गतिविधि वारे चर्चा ।

भट्टाराय, बुढानाथ (व्याख्याकार)

न्याय-दीप । काठमाडौं, नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान, वि.सं. २०२६।

१६+१३५ पृ.

महर्षि गौतमको सुत्रको भाष्यानुसारी ।

भट्टराई, हर्षनाथ

शब्द-कोषः प्राचीन र अर्वाचीन । प्रज्ञा, त्रैमासिकः वि.सं. २०३०, वर्ष ३, अंक १ ।

पृ. ४५-५६

राई, नवीन कुमार

खम्वाः एक अर्ध प्रमणशील जाति ।

Contribution to Nepalese Studies (Journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur).

पृ. ६५-७५, पुस्तक सूची, चित्र ।

पश्चिम नेपालका कर्णाली, सेती, भेरी र राप्ती अन्तर्गतका एक अर्ध-प्रमणशील

जातिवारे सामाजिक, मानविक र आर्थिक पृष्ठभूमिमा आधारित संक्षिप्त

अध्ययन ।

राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, (सं.)

साभका अर्थ-व्यवस्था ।

गोर्खापत्र. वि.सं. २०३० अगस्त २० गते ।

१५२ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

राष्ट्रिय विकास परिषदको दोश्रो बैठकमा राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगद्वारा प्रस्तुत केहि महत्वपूर्ण कार्यपत्रहरूमा साफा अर्थ व्यवस्थाको स्वरूप विवेचन ।

राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, (सं)

विकास अग्रणी समूह ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज १२ गते ।

पृ. ४-५

राष्ट्रिय विकास परिषदको दोश्रो बैठकमा राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगद्वारा प्रस्तुत कार्य पत्रमा उल्लिखित 'विकास अग्रणी समूह' को शैद्धान्तिक पदामा प्रकाश ।

रेग्मी, कृष्णकेशव राज

कोशीका थारू समुदाय र तिनको परिवर्तनशील संस्कृति ।

प्राचीन नेपाल: पुरातत्व विभागको मुखपत्र: वि.सं. २०३०, संख्या २३ ।

पृ. १३-५१

कोशी अंचलका थारू समुदायको वारेमा सामाजिक र सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन ।

रेग्मी, कृष्णभदेव शर्मा

आदि शक्तिको आराधना ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज ११ गते ।

पृ. ४

आदिशक्तिका आराधना संवन्धी हिन्दु दृष्टिकोण । विवेचन धार्मिक र पौराणिक पृष्ठभूमिमा गरिएको छ ।

लोहनी, दामोदर नाथ

शक्तिको महत्ता ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, असोज २० गते ।

पृ. ४

शास्त्रीय र धार्मिक दृष्टिले विजया दशमीको चर्चा ।

वज्राचार्य, ईन्द्ररत्न

लक्ष्मीपूजाको धार्मिक महत्त्व ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३० कार्तिक ६ गते ।

वज्राचार्य, ईन्द्ररत्न

श्रीकुमारीको रथ जात्रा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, भदौ २६ गते ।

पृ. ४

सामान्य जानकारी ।

विकासचन्द्र

अव्यवस्थित वसोवास नियन्त्रण गर्ने दिशामा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर ६ गते ।

पृ. ७-८ (शनिवारीय परिशिष्टांक)

अव्यवस्थित वसोवास नियन्त्रण कार्यक्रम वारे चर्चा । सरकारले यस क्षेत्रमा अपनाएको केही नीतिहरूको समीक्षा । लेख तथ्यांकमा आधारित

विकासचन्द्र

गांस र वासको प्रवन्धमा - पुनर्वास योजना ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर २ गते ।

पृ. ७ (शनिवारीय परिशिष्टांक)

पुनर्वास योजनाको कार्यक्रम र सफलतावारे संक्षिप्त चर्चा । संदर्भमा पुनर्वास योजना संवन्धी केहि तथ्यांकको उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।

शाह, अंगध्वज

मुगलहरूको परम्परा ।

वेन्तु: सामयिक संकलन: वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर वर्ष ५ ।

पृ. १-३

कणाली अंचलको मुगु जिल्ला अन्तर्गत मुगु गाँउको 'मुगल' हरूवारे सामाजिक र सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन ।

सिन्हा, उपेन्द्र नारायण

पंचायत र राष्ट्रवाद ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मंसिर २८ गते ।

पृ. ४

लेखकको विचारमा पंचायती व्यवस्था अन्तर्गत 'देश सर्वको साधन हो' भन्ने धारणा विकसित हुदै आएको छ । राष्ट्रवादी दृष्टिकोणलाई टेवा दिनको निती केहि सल्लाहहरूको उल्लेख पनि ।

सुवेदी, हंसपुरे

गण्डकी अन्चलका केही भाकाहरू ।

प्रज्ञा, त्रैमासिक, वि.सं. २०३०, वर्ष ३, अंक १ ।

पृ. १-८

लोक गीतमा प्रतिबिम्बित सामाजिक र भाषिक अध्ययन ।

सुब्बा, श्यामबहादुर

असाममा नेपाली बोली: क्रमेकीरू प्रभाव र स्थिति ।

हिमालोक, नेपाली डाइजेष्ट (त्रैमासिक), अंक ५, ई.सं. १८७३ दार्जिलिंग ।

१५४ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

पृ. ३५-४७

भारतको आसाम प्रदेशमा नेपाली भाषाको वर्तमान स्वरूपवारे गहकिलो चर्चा । असाम-को नेपाली बोली र शुद्ध नेपालीमा तुलनात्मक विवेचन । भाषाविदहरूको निमित्त उपयोगी निबन्ध ।

सुवेदी, अमि

आधुनिक नेपाली चित्रकला र साहित्यका केहि समान प्रवृत्तिहरू ।

मधुपर्क, वर्षा ६, अंक ६, वि.सं. २०३० माघ ।

पृ. ६७-१०५

आधुनिक नेपाली चित्रकला र साहित्यमा आज देखा पर्ने लागेका प्रवृत्तिहरूवारे तुलनात्मक विवेचन ।

सैजू, मोहनमान

पाँचौ योजनाको आधारभूत सिद्धान्तहरू तथा त्यसका केहि आवश्यकता ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, जेष्ठ २० गते ।

पृ. ५ (वांकी पृ. ८ मा) (शनिवारीय परिशिष्टांक)

त्यस लेखको मुख्य उद्देश्य आधारभूत सिद्धान्तहरूको विशेषतालाई स्पष्ट पार्नु भन्दा योजनाको विस्तृत मस्यौदा तयार हुनु अगाडि ती आधारभूत सिद्धान्त अनुकूल तुरुन्तै ध्यानमा जानुपर्ने केहि आवश्यकताहरू तर्फ आँल्याउने हो ।

लेखका महत्वपूर्ण बुँदाहरू:-

आन्तरिक साधनको परिचालन - लगानी र उत्पादनको ढाँचा - श्रम उपयोग विधि - आर्थिक स्थिरता - औद्योगिक व्यवसाय - व्यापारको वृद्धि र विविधीकरण - भूमि व्यवस्था पंचायत क्षेत्रको स्थान, आदि ।

सैजू, मोहनमान

राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा योजनामा उच्च शिक्षा ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, पुस ३ गते ।

पृ. ४

उच्च शिक्षाको क्षेत्रलाई विस्तृत धरातल प्रदान गर्नको निमित्त चालिस्का महत्वपूर्ण कदमहरूको उल्लेख । विभिन्न अध्ययन संस्थानहरूको गतिविधीवारे चर्चा । राष्ट्रिय विकाससेवाको महत्त्व, आदि ।

शर्मा, हर्षनाथ

नेपाली राष्ट्रिय शाब्दिक शक्ति ।

मधुपर्क, वर्षा ६, अंक ७, वि.सं. २०३० मार्ग ।

पृष्ठ ६०-७०

नेपाली भाषामा प्रयोग भएका अरू भाषाका अनावश्यक शब्दहरू फिर्की तिनको ठाउँमा आफ्नै अर्थात् आफैले तर्जुमा गरेको शब्दहरू वढाउँदै सम्पूर्ण नेपाली वाङ्मयलाई नेपाली पनकै तानाबानाले सिँगारौं भन्ने यो लेख र लेखकको मुख्य मनशाम हो ।

श्रेष्ठ, भीम प्रसाद

सिजाः अनुसन्धाने अनुसन्धानको क्षेत्र ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, मदी ३० गते ।

पृ. ५

जुम्ला क्षेत्र अन्तर्गत सिजादरा ईलाकावारे ऐतिहासिक, सांस्कृतिक र सामाजिक चिन्हारी ।

श्रेष्ठ, देवीचन्द्र

नेपालमा जनसंख्या - विस्तारको प्राचीन स्वरूप ।

प्रज्ञा, त्रैमासिकः वि.सं. २०३०, वर्ष ३, अंक १ ।

पृ. १०५-१२

ऐतिहासिक विकास क्रममा आधारित नेपालको अध्यागमन प्रक्रियावारे गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

श्रेष्ठ, लीलाराज

प्राचीन नेपालमा गुठी व्यवस्था ।

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ६, अंक, ८, वि.सं. २०३० पौष ।

पृ. ११-१४

गुठी व्यवस्था वारे सामान्य चर्चा ।